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SANSKRIT BEYOND INDIA

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**-a survey of the diffusion of Sanskrit language
and literature and their influence on
world literature and culture**

S. C. Banerji, M. A., Ph. D.



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Sanskrit Language and Literature **1**

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PREFACE

The East is East and the West is West—the twin shall never meet. This remark of an eminent man has been belied, to a great extent, by the story of the spread of Sanskrit literature and culture beyond the barriers of India. An account of Indian civilisation within India is only half the story. In order to have a complete idea of it we should know the fascinating story of its diffusion among many countries of both the eastern and western worlds.

With the invention of speedy means of communication, distance between countries is being reduced. At present, one can reach any part of the world in the matter of days, even hours. Thus, the way has been paved for the nations coming together. The exigencies of political matters have brought several nations closer to one another. Some thinkers are dreaming of a world culture which will synthesise the cultures of different lands, and thus reduce the causes of bitterness, animosity and tension among the countries having different outlooks on life and holding varying political ideologies.

India is trying to establish friendly relations with various countries, especially with her Asian neighbours

Sanskrit has a distinct rôle to play in the establishment of world culture and of friendship with other countries. An analysis of the influence

of Sanskrit on the literature and culture of the lands beyond India will reveal that there is a considerable common ground between India and those countries. It will re-discover the relations that existed between India on the one hand and various countries on the other, but were forgotten with the lapse of centuries. It will be seen that, even at present, Sanskrit works are moulding the ideas of writers and philosophers of foreign countries. It may be stated here that the sciences of comparative philology, comparative mythology, comparative religions and philosophies owe their existence to Sanskrit which was discovered by western scholars in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

We propose to deal with the spread of Sanskrit literature and culture in the countries one by one. We shall divide our work into two parts, the first part dealing with the East and the second with the West. After describing the diffusion and influence of Sanskrit in the past, we shall deal with the cultivation of this literature in the different countries in the present times.

We take this opportunity to express our indebtedness to the earlier authors who have written on the subject.

Different writers have written on the influence of Sanskrit in particular lands, e.g. the countries of the Far East, some countries of Europe etc. But, no sustained work has as yet been composed on the spread of Sanskrit beyond India in a general way. In the encyclopædic *India's Contribution to World*

Thought and Culture (Madras), the influence abroad not only of Sanskrit, but also of Indian sculpture, architecture, etc. has been dwelt upon. V.K. Gokak's *India and World Culture* deals with the inter-relation of Indian and world cultures as a whole, and is not confined to Sanskrit culture alone. Lokesh Chandra's writings throw light on Sanskrit culture in several countries. D. P. Singhal's excellent, informative and painstaking work, *India and World Civilisation*, deals with the influence of Indian civilisation on that of the world. In his work, Sanskrit appears as one of the many media through which Indian cultural ideas were transmitted to other countries.

It is our object, in the present work, to relate the story of the travel of Sanskrit literature beyond the confines of India and to set forth its influence on the literature and culture of the countries concerned as fully as available materials permit. It will show how the ethos of the people, inhabiting a large part of the globe, owes a great deal to Indian inspiration.

In an appendix we have set forth the works on Indology by scholars of the West. It will demonstrate that they dedicated their lives to the pursuit of Indian learning.

Our labours will be amply rewarded if this work opens up new vistas of friendly relations between India and other countries, and goes some way in forging a cultural symbiosis which will foster greater understanding and amity among the different nations.

Any suggestion about the improvement of the work will be gratefully received.

Finally, it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to my teacher, Prof. Amalendu Bose, formerly Head of the Deptt. of English, Calcutta University, for his many kind suggestions and keen interest. He drew the attention of the author to useful works but for which this book would have been defective in many respects.

Calcutta.

S. C. Banerji

January, 1978

ADDENDUM

Chapter VIII

On pages 122-123 it has been written as follows :
He (Emerson) wrote.....Brahma which, according to some, is a translation from Kalidasa through a Latin rendering. But, a perusal of the poem does not justify this view. At places, the author seems to echo ideas of the *Bhagavadgītā*. We reproduce the poem below. The above information, derived from a secondary source, is wrong.

BRAHMA

If the red slayer think he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass, and turn again.

Far or forgot to me is near ;
Shadow and sunlight are the same ;
The vanished gods to me appear ;
And one to me are shame and fame.

They reckon ill who leave me out ;
When me they fly, I am the wings ;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings.

The strong gods pine for my abode,
And pine in vain the sacred Seven,*
But thou, meek lover of the good !
Find me, and turn thy back on heaven.

*Seven=highest saints of Hindu faith

Ralph Waldo Emerson. 1857

Emerson's essays, entitled *Over-Soul* and *Circles*, appear to be indebted to Indian thought.

Whitman's *Passage to India* was written in 1871 on the occasion of the opening of the Suez Canal.

Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* contains incidental references to the Orient and the message of the Gita.

The American author, Herman Melville (1819-91), wrote the prose work, entitled *Moby Dick*. It reveals the clear influence of the First Incarnation as found in Sanskrit literature.

1. It was not available while writing the book.

SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Before taking up our study of the diffusion of Sanskrit in the world at large, we should give, in a succinct form, an account of the language and the literature written in it. To introduce the general reader to Sanskrit language and literature, we shall set forth a broad outline in the light of up-to-date researches.

Sanskrit belongs to the great family of Indo-European languages. With Greek and Latin, the two other ancient members of the Indo-European family, Sanskrit reveals striking similarities in phonology and morphology.

As far as our knowledge goes, Sanskrit originated and developed in India. It was the language of the Aryans. Therefore, it is often designated as an Indo-Aryan language. We do not know precisely when this language was born. The earliest specimens of it are preserved in the *R̥gveda* the date of which will be discussed below. The Vedic language reveals the verve and vigour of a living language refusing to yield completely to the regimentation imposed by grammar. The language began to develop through centuries till the period when its freedom was curbed by the rigid rules of grammar of which the earliest extant specimen is the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (C. 4th. century B. C.).

In its onward march, the vocabulary was considerably enriched and enlarged by non-Aryan words.

The term 'Sanskrit' (*Samśkr̥ta*-refined) has led some scholars to postulate the pre-existence of a crude language called *Prākṛta*. Orthodox Indian opinion, however, regards Sanskrit as the basic language from which various *Prākṛta* dialects, used by common people, came into being.

Sanskrit literature admits of a broad threefold stage of development. The earliest stratum is represented by the Vedic literature of which the earliest specimen is the *Ṛgveda*. In the absence of definite evidences, it is difficult to determine the age of this Veda. Some scholars would place it around 6000 B. C. or even earlier, while others would bring it down to 1000 B. C. or even a little later. The best course, perhaps, is to avoid the two extremes, and to assign the *Ṛgveda* to a period between 1500 and 1200 B. C. Most of the modern scholars are inclined to the view that it represents a period later than the Indus Valley Civilisation which is roughly assigned to round about 3000 B. C. which, therefore, can be taken as the lower terminus of the age of the *Ṛgveda*.

The other Vedic *Samhitās* are the *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda*. Towards the later Vedic period arose a type of literature called *Brāhmaṇa* dealing with the minutiae of sacrifices. Partly included in *Brāhmaṇas* and partly independent were the *Upaniṣads* which were speculative in

character dealing, as they did, with the mystery of life and death, soul etc. These were called Vedānta. The Vedic literature comprises two other broad classes of works. One is exegetical, and comprises such works as the *Nirukta* of Yāska and grammatical works. Other works of this class belong to the domain of phonetics, metrics and astronomy. The other class is represented by Kalpasūtras comprising Śrautasūtra (on Vedic sacrifices) Dharmasūtra (religious and secular law), Gṛhyasūtra (on domestic rites) and Śulvasūtra (geometrical works relating to the measurement of the sacrificial altar). The Dharmasūtra eventually led to the growth of Dharmaśāstra, represented mainly by the *Manu-smṛiti* (C. 200 B C-200 A. D.) and the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*.

The Sūtra literature came into existence about 566 B. C., the time of the appearance of the great Buddha on the Indian scene. To this class belong the earliest works of all the schools of Indian philosophy.

The next stage of development of Sanskrit literature witnessed the great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. These are not available in their original forms. A mighty river, washing many lands, gathers a huge quantity of alluvial soil and finally merges into the sea. So, these huge epics, delineating the ethos of India, while developing through centuries, incorporated a vast mass of matters from various regions till at last they assumed the present form. Nobody knows when they

originated. In their present forms, the *Mahābhārata* appears to date back to about the fourth century A. D. and the *Rāmāyaṇa* a century or two earlier. The *Bhagavadgītā* or *Gītā*, belonging to the *Mahābhārata*, is regarded as the only truly philosophical poem in all the literatures of the world. It is considered to be a very holy treatise, and is frequently recited or read. Partly containing the characteristics of the epics and partly revealing independent features are the *Purāṇas* and the *Upapurāṇas*. These are storehouses of myths, legends, historical matters, religious and secular subjects. Mainly sectarian in origin, e. g. Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava etc., they contain information about the five principal topics of Creation, Re-Creation after Dissolution, Genealogies of gods and sages, Manu periods of time and genealogies of kings. The earliest *Purāṇa*, perhaps, dates back to the fifth or fourth century B. C. Of the extant *Purāṇas*, the early ones appear to have been composed or compiled at a period before the seventh century A. D. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is the Bible of the Vaiṣṇavas. The *Caṇḍī* or *Saptaśatī*, included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, is regarded as holy ; it is recited at the time of the worship of some deities and also for averting evils.

The classical Sanskrit literature roughly dates back to the age of Paṇini, referred to above. It is broadly divided into prose works, poems and dramas. Born in the royal court, Sanskrit poetical works are often called court-epics. In Sanskrit, the

generic name of the classical prose, poetical and dramatic works is *Kāvya* ; the first two are called *Śravya* (to be heard) and the third *Dṛśya* (to be seen), To the growth of *Kāvya* the works on Rhetoric (*Alaṅkāra-s'āstra*), Dramaturgy (*Nāṭya-śāstra*), *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana and the works on politics and statecraft, notably the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, contributed in a large measure. In classical Sanskrit literature, Kālidāsa stands as a colossus. There is no poet before him or after who can surpass or even match him in the charm of language, suggestiveness of style, the delineation of Nature, characterisation, treatment of love and in human approach. His *Śakuntalā* is a work which earned the unstinted admiration of critics, both eastern and western. The *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava* are his noted long poems. The *Meghadūta* is a great lyric by the master-poet. Kālidāsa alone represents an epoch. We can take him as the central bead in the rosary of classical Sanskrit writers who may be divided into two broad classes—pre-Kālidāsa and post-Kālidāsa.

In the domain of prose *Kāvya*, Baṇabhaṭṭa (first half of the seventh century A. D.) stands head and shoulders above the other authors. His *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita* are respectively a romance and a historical narrative.

PART ONE
ORIENT

I

NEPAL, TIBET, BURMA, CEYLON

Nepal is the closest neighbour of India not only geographically but also from the cultural point of view. Politically Nepal is not like other states of India ; it has an independent status though to a very limited extent. Buddhism and Brahmanical religion flooded Nepal since early times. Sanskrit works, both Buddhistic and Brahmanical, deeply influenced Nepalese literature and culture. There is a Nepalese, version of the *Bṛhatkathā* ; it is by Budhasvamin and is entitled *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha*. The Brahmanical deity, Gaṇeśa, appears to have been very popular there. Many Sanskrit works were translated into Nepālī language. A version of the *Cāṇakyaniti-saṁgraha* may have been composed in Nepal. In later times, the *Rāmāyaṇa* supplied the inspiration to Bhānubhakta who composed his *Rāmāyaṇa* which is a standard work in Nepālī vernacular.

The Muslim invasions of Bihar and Bengal accelerated the influx of Indian culture into Nepal, In the wake of these invasions, many orthodox Brahmanas and Buddhists, particularly the latter, fled away with their most precious possessions of manuscripts of Sanskrit works and found a secure refuge in that country, The Nepal Durbar library is still full of valuable manuscripts, A very

important text among them is that of the Mahāyāna Sanskrit work, entitled *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* the original of which is lost in India.

TIBET

Tibet is the nearest neighbour of India to the north-east. We do not know precisely when cultural contacts between these two countries commenced. From the Tibetan¹ annals we come to learn that the ruler, Srong-tsan-gampo, the founder of Lhasa (639 A. D.) deputed one Sambhoṭa, with sixteen others, to India to study Sanskrit language. He asked them also to invent a written language for Tibet by fitting Sanskrit alphabet to the phonetic peculiarities of the Tibetan language. Of intimate cultural relations between these two countries during the Pala régime, there is ample evidence. In those times, Bengal was flooded by Tantrism. This Tantrism, particularly Buddhist Tantra, served to link up Tibet with Bengal, and for that matter, with India. The name of Atiśa Dīpaṃkara is the most prominent in connexion with Indian influence on Tibet. But, long before Atiśa, Bengali scholars began to visit Tibet and even settle there. Most of the Sanskrit works, particularly those dealing with Buddhist Tantra, written by Bengali scholars in Tibet, are lost in India. Tibetan

1. See *Jour. of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, p. p. 218-19

tradition and the *Tanjur* testify to their existence or to their contents. Some of these works are also preserved in Tibetan translation.

In those times, Nalanda in Bihar was the foremost seat of learning relating to Buddhist religion and philosophy. Moreover, India was the birth-place of the Buddhist religion which pervaded the land of Tibet. These are the reasons why the Tibetans looked upon India and its people with regard. So, Indian spiritualism and intellectualism easily exercised deep and wide influence on the Tibetans.

Of the Bengali scholars, who chose Tibet as their place of activity, and composed Sanskrit works there, particularly noteworthy are the following.

Śīlabhadra (6th-7th cent.). In the Tibetan *Tanjur*, there is a translation of his work, entitled *Ārya-buddha-bhūmi-vyākhyāna*.

Śāntarakṣita (8th cent.). He composed several works on Buddhist Tantra of which only Tibetan versions are available.

Kumāravajra (10th cent.) -According to Tibetan tradition, he wrote a work, entitled *Cakra-saṃvara-maṇḍala-vidhi-tattvā-vatāra*, on Buddhist Kalacakrayāna.

Jetāri (10th cent.)-Of two scholars of this name, one was preceptor of the famous Atīśa. Only Tibetan versions of three works on Logic and eleven works on Vajrayāna-sādhana by Jetāri are available. According to the Tibetan Tāranatha, he composed one hundred works.

Atiśa Dipamkara (10th-11th. cent.) -During his thirteen-year stay in Tibet, he is said to have written nearly 200 Buddhist works. In the *Tanjur*, there are translations of many of his Sanskrit works. Of these, noteworthy are the following : *Bodhimārga - panjikā*, *Bodhipatha-pradīpa*, *Ekavtra-sādhana*, *Prajñāpāramitā - piṇḍārtha-pradīpa*, *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa-nāma-ma-dhvamako-padeśa*, *Lokāttta-saptāṅga-vidhi*.

Most of his works are concerned with *Vajrayāna-sādhana*. On his way to Tibet, he wrote from Nepal a Sanskrit epistle, called *Vimalaratnalekha*, to the then king, *Nayapāla*, of Bengal. Its Tibetan version only is available.

Jñānaśrīmitra (contemporary of Atiśa) - Only a Tibetan version of his *Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi*, a work on Buddhist logic, is available.

Abhayīkaragupta (11th, century)-According to the Tibetan *Tanjur*, he wrote nearly twenty works on *Aajrayana*. We are informed that *Bibhūti-candra*, who may or may not have been a Bengali, translated, or helped others in translating, some of *Abhayākara*'s works into Tibetan. One, *Dānasīla*, is also said to have translated a Sanskrit work of *Abhayākara* into Tibetan in collaboration with another scholar, named *Śakyaśrībhadra*.

Divākaracandra (11th. century)-In the *Tanjur* are preserved translations of several of his works on Buddhist Tantric religion.

Besides the above scholars, *Dānasīla*, a Kashmirian according to some, is known to have

prepared a Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon in collaboration with other scholars.

The Sanskrit works, noted against the name of the scholars below, who are generally supposed to have been Bengali, are preserved only in Tibetan versions :

Kumāracandra-*Ratnāvalī*, comm. on *Kṛṣṇayamāri-tantra*, *Śrīvajrabhairava-tantra-pañjikā*.

Nagabodhi - *Yamārisiddha-cakra* - *sādhana*. *Ārya-nīlāmbaradhara-vajrapāṇi-sādhana* and nine other works.

Putali-*Bodhicitta-vāyu-caraṇa-bhāvanopāya*.

Bodhibhadra-Tāntric works, entitled *Rahasyānanda-tilaka*, *Samādhi-sambhāra-parivarta*, *Bodhisattva-saṃvara-viṃśatipañjikā*, *Kālacakra-gaṇitamukhā-deśa* etc.

It appears that the Siddhācāryas of Bengal, the accredited authors of the songs contained in the *Caryāpada*, exercised considerable influence on the religious life of Tibet. The *Tanjur* attributes quite a number of Sanskrit Tantras to some of them, e. g. *Kukkuripāda*, *Śabari*, *Lui-pā* etc. Four works on Vajrayāna by Tilopā or Tailikapāda are preserved in Tibetan versions. Nearly twenty-five Tantras are associated, in the *Tanjur*, with the name of Saraha or Sarahapāda.

In connexion with the influence of Sanskrit in Tibet, it should be stated that the Tibetans adopted Indian medicine. The *Yoga-śataka* by Nāgārjuna or Vararuci was translated into Tibetan. A voluminous medical work, entitled *Amṛtahṛdaya*, is

stated to have been translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan in the eighth century. The Sanskrit original is lost. Several passages appear to be translation of quotations from Caraka or Suśruta. So, the tradition can not be rejected as a myth. It was also commented upon in Tibetan. The commentary was translated into Mongolian and brought to Russia. The Mongolian version, together with its Russian translation, was partly published by Pozdneev. The *Tanjur* preserves Tibetan translation also of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa, with two commentaries. It also contains Tibetan translation of Śalihotra's *Aśvāyurveda* on veterinary science.

In Tibetan, several works on *Niti* (gnomic and didactic matters) exist ¹ These appear to be Tibetan versions (9th-11th centuries) of Sanskrit collections of wise sayings. The most noteworthy among them are :

Prajñāśataka-nāma-prakaraṇa by Nāgārjuna.

Nītiśāstra-prajñādaṇḍa-nāma by Do.

Nītiśāstra-jantupoṣaṇabindu-nāma by Do

Gāthakośa-nāma or *Āryakośa* by Ravigupta.

Śatagāthā by Vararuci.

Cāṇakyanītiśāstra by Cāṇakya (also Cāṇakya-rājanīti-sāstra).

Nītiśāstra by Maśūrakṣa.

1. On the influence of Sanskrit on the *Nīti* literature in the various oriental countries beyond India, see L. Sternbach in *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* etc., ed. Lokesh Chandra, Madras.

Besides the above, the *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi-nama Śāstra* ascribed to Ānandadhvaja-śrībhadrā, was compiled in the twelfth century A. D.

It is interesting to add that the present Tibetan grammar is modelled by the aforesaid Sambhoṭa on the pattern of Sanskrit grammar.

Of the Tibetan versions of Sanskrit works, which enriched Tibetan literature, also noteworthy are the *Meghadūta*, *Kāvya-darśa*, *Amarakośa*, the medical work *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, besides those mentioned earlier. The voluminous Tibetan works *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* contain Tibetan translations of various Sanskrit works of which the originals have sunk into oblivion.

We have a Tibetan version of the *Rāmakathā*, but its exact Sanskrit original is not known. It, however, by and large, follows the narrative as laid down in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*.

BURMA

The influence of Sanskrit literature on the people of Burma, our nearest neighbour to the east, is borne out by Sanskrit inscriptions of Burma on stone and gold plates, written in the period from the third century to the tenth. Some legal treatises of this land, written in Pāli, betray their indebtedness to the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Nārada etc. Obligations to Manu have been frankly acknowledged in some law-books of Burma.¹

1. For details, see K. Motwani, *Manu Dharmaśāstra*, p. 313.

The important Burmese collections of *Nīti*, viz. the *Lokanīti*, *Dhammanīti* and *Rājanīti* show deep influence of Sanskrit. The Burmese version of the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* is very popular in Burma.

Some Brāhmaṇical deities, e. g. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Durgā etc., found their way to Burma ; this is an indirect proof of the influence of Sanskrit in that land. A Sanskrit inscription from Hamawaa appears to indicate the penetration of Hinduism to Burma long before the fifth century. A. D. A pagan inscription of 1442 A. D, mentions the gift of 295 books to the *Saṅgha*. Some of these bear Sanskrit titles. About 1600 A. D, we learn, that there were Paṇḍitas versed in Vedaśāstra, a term applied not only to Veda but also to medicine, astronomy, Kāmaśāstra etc. These also comprised Tantric works. Experts in *Atharvaveda* appear to have been present in the Burmese court. The Mon inscriptions of Burma contain many Sanskrit terms. The names of some of the ancient cities of Burma bear Sanskrit names, e. g. Arimaddanapura for ancient Pagan, Bissunomyo (City of Viṣṇu) for old Prome, identified with the modern town of Hmawza also known in ancient times as Sisit or Śrīkṣetra. The Burmese chronicle, *Mahayazawin*, contains the tradition that the city was founded by Viṣṇu with the help of Garuḍa, Caṇḍī and Parameśvara.

An inscription, found at Myinpagan, opens with a Sanskrit verse taken from the *Mukundamālā* 6 of the saint-king, Kulaśekhara.

Several incarnations of Viṣṇu are represented at one place.

CEYLON

A look at the island of Ceylon makes one feel as though it is geographically an integral part of India. The same remark is largely applicable from the point of view of culture and civilisation. The story of the conquest of Ceylon by the Bengali Vijayasimha (543 or 483 B. C) is referred to in the *Mahāvamśa*, and appears to be confirmed by Ajanta murals. This was, perhaps, the first planned settlement of Indians in that island. But, there is no denying the fact that large numbers of the successors of the Aryan settlers of India carried their culture to Ceylon, the land of their adoption. There is evidence that Indian colonists settled there early in the fifth century B. C. It was, perhaps, Aśoka (273-236 B. C.) who, for the first time, preached Buddhism in that land. But, before that, the Brāhmaṇical religion and culture spread over Ceylon, as is attested by the *Mahāvamśa* and the *Culavamśa*, the two principal historical works of Ceylon. In the former are mentioned Caṇakya, the Prime Minister of Candragupta, the four castes, Brāhmaṇas, versed in the Vedic triad, and the four Śāstras of *Kāma* etc. The latter work repeatedly mentions Rājadharmā of Manu. Striking resemblance between Kandy (in Ceylon) and India

is found in laws relating to property, marriage, adoption etc.¹

Ceylon adopted Indian medicine in toto. The *Yogasataka*, mentioned earlier, had been in use up to the end of the nineteenth century.

Sanskrit works were imported into Ceylon in four periods—first up to 1017 A. D. i. e. the conquest by the Cholas, second up to beginning of the 16th. century, i. e. the Portuguese conquest of the coast-line of Ceylon, third up to 1815 A. D. (Kandy period), fourth commencing in 1815.

A version of the *Cāṇakya-nīti-sāstra* prevailed in Ceylon. The Ceylonese *Vyāsakarāya* and *Pratyayaśatakaya* are collections of *Nīti*-sayings influenced by Sanskrit. The Sanskrit *Navaratna* was studied in schools of Ceylon.

Ceylonese culture betrays the influence of Tantra.²

The Ceylonese pantheon contains several Brāhmaṇical deities, e.g. Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Skanda. The worship of Skanda, however, dates back to a very remote period. It is very popular even to-day.

The Sinhalese language, belonging to the Indo-Aryan family, owes a deep debt to Sanskrit for its growth. Sinhalese literature bears the clear impress of Sanskrit literary tradition.

1. For details, see J. D. Derrett: *The Origins of the Laws of the Kandyans* (*University of Ceylon Review*), October, 1956.

2. See Fernando in *Ceylon To-day*, Jan., 1962.

II

FAR EAST

Much of the vast stretch of land on the south-east of Asia, now generally known as Far East, had brisk commercial contact with India since ancient times. The historical works of foreigners, eg. the *Periplus*, those of Pliny and Ptolemy, testify to this fact. Valuable also is the evidence in this respect left by the Chinese and Arabian travellers. It is certain that close commercial relations were established between India and the Far East as early as the second century A. D. No less an authority than Ptolemy informs us that a direct route existed from Palura, near modern Ganjam, across the sea to Malay Peninsula.

The Buddhist works like the *Jātaka*, *Milinda-panho* and the Brahmanical works *Arthaśāstra*, *Bṛhatkathā* etc. mention Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa. These were the names of modern Indo-China and East Indies. Cambodia, Champa, Burma, Siam and Malaya were comprised in Indo-China. East Indies includes Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Bali. The *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to have a knowledge of Yavadvīpa (Java) where Sugrīva is stated to have sent his followers. India was linked with China by sea-routes via South-East Asia. The *Periplus* furnishes such evidence. India was

connected with South-East Asia also by land-routes through East Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Burma.

Not only commercial contact ; there were also intimate cultural relations between India and these lands. That is why these regions were designated as Greater India. The Indians used to frequent these places even in pre-Christian times. Gradually some of them established colonies, entered into marital relations with the local people and settled there for good. Thus, an Indian community grew up. In course of time, big and small Indian states came into existence.

Wales, who made a special study of Greater India, thinks that Indian culture found its way into South-East Asia in five successive waves, viz the Amarāvati (2nd-3rd. cent. A. D.), the Gupta (4th-6th cent. A. D.), the Pallava (c. 550-750 A. D), the Pala (750-900 A. D.) and late Pala (12th, 13th centuries).

Hindu civilisation having struck firm roots on the foreign soil, the smaller states were unified and gave rise to bigger ones, Fu-Nan or Kambuja, founded in the first century of the Christian era, was the oldest of these colonial kingdoms. The Śrīvijaya kingdom of Sumatra, perhaps established in the fourth century A. D. and the far-flung Śailendra Empire of Suvarṇadvīpa, established in the eighth century, deserve special mention. In the colonies, countless evidences of Hindu culture are found even to-day on temples, sculpture, epigraphs, literature, the place-names and in the languages of the places

concerned. We shall briefly describe the spread and influence of Sanskrit literature in these places.

The *Sūryasiddhānta* was adopted as an astronomical compendium in Indo-China and Indonesia.

There is marked influence of the *Dharmaśāstra* of Manu in the region, at present known as Indonesia. In fact, the legal treatises of Indonesia are based on this work. Of such works, the oldest is the *Kutara Manawa*; the major portion of it follows Manu. The two other principal legal works are the *Dewagama* and *Swara-Jambu*; of these, the former is entirely, and the latter mostly, based on Manu's work.¹ Epigraphical evidence points to the currency of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story in Indo-China and Indonesia as early as the earlier part of the first millennium of the Christian era. The popular *Rāmāyaṇa*, current in Siam, is called *Rāmakir* or *Rāma-kien* which means *Rāma-kīrti*. One of the source-books of this work is the old Siamese work, *Nārāyaṇa Sippam*, containing myths and legends about the ten incarnations of *Nārāyaṇa*.

It is interesting to note that, in some countries of the Far East, Sanskrit was used as the official language by the fourth century A. D.

The Brāhmaṇical deity, Gaṇeśa, was prominent in the following countries of the Far East : Thailand (popularly called Siam), Cambodia, Champa Java, Bali and Borneo.

1. Vide K. Motwani, *Manu Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 371-18.

The *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* was translated into Siamese.

That India occupied a prominent place among the nations, which developed science, is proved, *inter alia*, by the following fact. In the 11th century, Said al-Andalusi, a historian of science, mentions, in his work, *Kitab Tabakat al-Umam* (The Categories of Nations), India as the foremost country to develop sciences.

CAMBODIA

Commercial and missionary activities appear to have linked up Cambodia, comprised in the kingdom of Funan, with India at a very remote period. The ancient inhabitants of Cambodia are believed to have been descendants of primitive Indian tribes

A Brahmin, named Kaundinya, is said to have arrived at the Cambodian coast, vanquished the reigning queen and married her and then founded the kingdom of Fu-nan. The name, Fu-nan, is probably a Chinese version of the Khmer word *bhnam* or *phnam* denoting hill. The original Sanskrit name was, perhaps, Śrīśaila. Kaundinya's descendants had the title Śailendra.

No Sanskrit work, composed in Cambodia, has yet come to light. But, Sanskrit inscriptions¹ are scattered over the country. Of these, some contain a few specimens of *Kāvya* and are written in

1. For details, see R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta-1953.

impeccable Sanskrit. The inscriptions testify to the fact that, in those times, Veda, Vedānta, Dharmaśāstra etc. used to be zealously studied there. In one inscription, a verse of Manu is quoted. It appears that the *Arthaśāstra* was not merely studied, but attempts were made to follow its precepts in the administration of the kingdom. There is mention of the daily study or recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* at some places. As in India, the presentation of these books to deserving persons was looked upon as a pious act. The Cambodians appear to have had keen interest in Sanskrit *Kāvya*. In an inscription of Rajendrarvarman, four verses appear to be modelled on a few stanzas of the *Raghuvamśa*. Certain inscriptions of Yaśovarman reveal intimate knowledge of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, Pravarasena and his *Setubandha* as well as of the two great Indian epics. His familiarity with the *Kāmasūtra* and *Nyāyāśāstra* is also attested. Some writers reveal their familiarity also with the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*. In one inscription, there is mention of the *Sūryaśataka*. The Cambodians were not averse even to such abstruse grammatical works as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Mahābhāṣya* etc. An inscription of Yaśovarman reveals that he himself wrote a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*. Records relating to Yaśovarman refer, *inter alia*, to Bharavi, Vasubandhu, Mayūra and the story of Ahalya. A verse of the *Manusmṛti* is quoted in an inscription. Some inscriptions refer to *Horāśāstra*, *Kāmasūtra* etc. The cultivation of

Sanskrit in Cambodia appears to have reached the climax during the ninth-tenth centuries. An inscription of the seventh century, belonging to the reign of Mahendravarman, identifies Śiva with Paramātman of the Upaniṣads ; in it we find Vedāntic influence.

Vidyāpuṣpa, an official under king Bhavavarman, is known to have been conversant with grammar and Nyāya Vaiśeṣika. The king's grandson, Iśānavarman, had an officer, named Vidyāviśeṣa, who was proficient in grammar, Nyāya, and Vaiśeṣika schools of philosophy. A Brāhmaṇa, named Dharmasvāmin, in the reign of Jayavarman, was versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. One Śivasoma, who, in course of time, became the spiritual preceptor of king Indravarman, is said to have studied Sastras under the renowned philosopher, Śaṅkarācārya, in India. Śrī Śvāmī, a scholar in the reign of Jayavarman II, had vast erudition in Veda, Vyākaraṇa and Indian philosophy, particularly Nyāya.

The great eulogy of king Rājendravarman, comprising 298 verses in the ornate Kāvya style, contains copious references to Vedic literature, epic and Purāṇic works, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Raghuvamśa* etc.

We know of at least four Tantras, viz. *Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara* introduced into Cambodia about 800 A. D. These texts are said to have been taught by a Brāhmaṇa to Śivakaivalya, the spiritual preceptor of king Jayavarman.

The wonderful Śaivite temple of Angkor in

Cambodia is a towering and mute witness to the influence of Brāhmaṇical religion in that area. Vaiṣṇavism also prevailed.

In Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia, the name of Suśruta occurs. Some inscriptions give Sanskrit names of drugs, presented to temples at the time of King Jayavarman VII about 1200 A. D.

Some temples of Cambodia depict *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes. As instances may be cited the Baphoun Mountain temple, the Prasat An Temple, Banteay Srei Temple etc. We have already referred to the daily recitation of the epic. It wielded such a profound influence that, from an inscription found in Champā, Prakāśadharmā (653-79 A. D.) is stated to have dedicated an image and a temple to Vālmiki.

Cambodia was so thoroughly Indianised or rather Hinduised that the king and priests bore Sanskrit names. The subjects for the education of princes included *Siddhāntas*, Sanskrit grammar, Dharma-Śāstra and the six philosophical systems.

The Cambodian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, called *Rāmakerti*, is a metrical scenic adaptation of the Rāma legend, meant for recitation. It reveals a curious syncretism of Brāhmaṇical and Buddhistic ideas. In it, Rāma is called a Bodhisattva.

CHAMPĀ

Over a hundred inscriptions are preserved in this country even to-day. These reveal that Sanskrit language and literature were widely cultivated in

this land at least down to the tenth century A. D. The oldest Sanskrit inscription, in a developed *Kāvya* style and in the well-known *Vasantatilaka* metre, dates back to the third or fourth century A. D. It is interesting to note that Sanskrit, at one time, was the state language of Champā. Many Sanskrit treatises were brought into this country from India, and new Sanskrit works were written. From the inscriptions we learn that king Bhadravarman (5th century) was versed in *Cāturvaidya* or the four Vedas. The Vo-Canh Rock Inscription (400 A. D.) refers to *Viśvajit* sacrifice. King Indravarman III appears to have been proficient in Indian philosophy, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its commentary, the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. Indravarman VII is known to have been well conversant with Indian grammar, astronomy and Dharmaśāstra. We are further told that, in these times, the Indian epics, *Manusmṛti*, *Nārada-smṛti* and Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava literatures used to be widely studied. R. C. Majumdar tells us that there is mention of the work 'Purāṇārtha' in one inscription and of 'Arthapurāṇa-śāstra' in another. According to him, these two names stand for one and the same work which was either an exposition of some Indian Purāṇa or a local edition of it. The style of the inscriptions reveals their authors' close familiarity with the Indian prose and poetical literatures.

The latest redaction of the *Ramakathā* in Champā, dating back to the 18th. century A. D., is based on the Annamite version.

The kings of Champā assumed the title *Dharma-mahārāja*, and their names endel in *varman*. In that land, years were reckoned according to the Śaka era. Some inscriptions testify to the prevalence of the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Several other deities of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon, e. g. Brahmā, Skanda, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī etc. were also popular in this land.

MALAYA

In the south-east Asia, the Indians appear to have arrived at first in this country. They gradually dispersed to other countries. After crossing the Bay of Bengal, they perhaps at first set foot on Takkela (—modern Takua Pa) in Malaya. The temples, sculpture and Sanskrit inscriptions of this and other places of Malaya are even today the mute witnesses to Hindu culture in this region. At Penang in Malaya, two Sanskrit inscriptions in South Indian script have been found; these probably date back to the fourth century. The Chinese records testify to the fact that, in the sixth century, Indian kings ruled over Malaya and used Sanskrit language. The laws of Malaya appear to have been influenced by Manu.¹

The *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* were translated in Malaya. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* inspired at least two Malay works. Another Sanskrit work, which influenced Malay literature, is the *Śukasaptati* (through the Persian version,

1. Vide K. Motwani, *Manu Dharmaśāstra*, p. 315.

Tutināmeḥ). Malaya's *adat Temenggong*, as preserved to us, reveals a knowledge of the works of Kauṭilya, Manu, Kāmandaka etc.

The language of Malaya contains many Sanskrit words¹ either as they are or with phonetic variations. These words were borrowed either directly or indirectly through Java.

A few specimens are given below.

Malay	Sanskrit
shurga	svarga
rasa	rasa
dipati	adhipati
mēntēri	mantri
gēni	agni
lakṣa	lakṣa
dēnda	daṇḍa
saksi	sakṣi
bangsi	varṇśi
kapasa	Kārpāsa

An inscribed stele commences with the word *Svasti*. The word *Siddhyātrā* occurs in the inscription of Buddhagupta. Two seals contain the legend *Śrī Viṣṇuvarmasya*. All these terms are Sanskritic.

There are relics indicating the popularity of *Śaiva Tantra*.

The foliation in pedestals, old water-bottle stands etc. sometimes show figures from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

1. For a collection of such words, see D. R. Singam, *Sanskrit in Malay, Jour. of Oriental Res., Madras*, 39, p. I.

Themes from the two Indian epics are used in dance, drama, puppet shows and shadow plays.

The oldest manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Hikayat Seri Rāma*, has a Tamil model.

The *Mahābhārata* inspired the Malay works *Hikayat Perang, Pandawa Jaya* and *Hikayat Mahārāja Boma*. Some other Malay works, including folk-tales and romances, owe their inspiration to the Indian epics and Purāṇas.

SUMATRA

The first Hindu kingdom of the land, founded around the fourth century, reached the zenith towards the end of the seventh. This was the kingdom of Śrīvijaya. From Chinese accounts we learn of the wide study of Sanskrit works in this kingdom. The Ligor Inscription (775 A. D.) in Sanskrit throws considerable light on the history of Śrīvijaya.

The local language of Sumatra contains many Sanskrit words.

JAVA

Many Hindu states were established in this country. Four Sanskrit inscriptions, found in West Java, bear out the influence of Indian culture in those days.

Of the regular cultivation of Sanskrit literature in He-ling, the most famous Hindu kingdom of Java, there is mention in It-sing's (7th. cent.) account.

The *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa was a very popular poem in Java. Several Sanskrit works on grammar, metre and lexicography have been found. The principal grammatical work is *Svara-vyañjana*¹. There are two works on metrics, called *Vṛttasañcaya*² (C. 1200 A. D.) and *Vṛttayana*. In old Javanese is preserved a version of the Sanskrit lexicon, *Amaramālā*. The lexicographical works, called *Ādisvara*, *Ekalavya*, *Kṛtavyasa* and *Caṇṭakaparva*, reveal the influence of Sanskrit lexicons. The most important work of this class is the Sanskrit-Kawi dictionary, available in the library of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. It is like a Sanskrit *Kośa*, and gives Sanskrit synonyms of particular words. The Javanese prose translation of the *Mahābhārata* is a noted work. A manuscript of the *Udyogaparvan*, written in incorrect Sanskrit, has been discovered. An *Arjuna-vivāha*, based on a *Mahābhārata* episode, was composed in Javanese in the eleventh century. The *Sāra-samuccaya* is a Javanese translation of many didactic verses of the *Anuśāsana-parvan* of this epic ; it quotes stanzas from several other works like the *Pañcatantra*. The work, called *Ślokāntara*³, also containing many moral verses, betrays the influence of Sanskrit works dealing with didactic

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1. Ed. Raghu Vira, International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi 1956.
 2. Ed. H. Kern.
 3. Ed. S. Rani, International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi, 1957.

matters. The *Sang Satyavān* is nothing but a Javanese version of the *Savitri-Satyavān* episode of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Keravāsrama*, though an adaptation of this epic, contains many changes. Bhīma's exploits have been dealt with in the work, entitled *Navaruci* (also called *Bimasuci* and *Devaruci*).

Of the works in old Javanese, the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*¹ of *Yogiśvara* is the foremost. Though mainly based on the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, many innovations have been introduced. In the Javanese work, there is no exile nor death of *Sītā*; in it *Sītā* has been re-united with *Rāma* after the fire ordeal. The translation of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the epic is a celebrated work in Javanese prose; it is regarded as an independent work and the departures from the original are noteworthy in it too. The *Serat Rāma* is a New Javanese adaptation of the old Javanese *Kakawin*. Besides the above, there are several Javanese recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There is an interesting fact about the Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs from *Prambanan* (West Java), dating back to the ninth century A. D., appear to be based on a primitive version of the *Rāmakathā*, and not on the work of *Valmiki*. Greater conformity with *Valmiki's* work is revealed in the *Panataran* (East Java) scenes of the 11th century A. D.

1. The *Kāvya*s of Java are called *Kakawin* in Javanese language; it has obvious similarity with Sanskrit *Kavi* which, in modern Javanese, denotes high class refined language.

Most of the poems in Old Javanese language are on themes of Sanskrit literature. These copiously use Sanskrit metre, Sanskrit works and verses. The most noteworthy among them is the *Bhārata-yuddha*, composed by Mpu Sedah in 1157 A. D. The *Māhābhārata* war is its subject-matter, and it is composed in epic style. Almost contemporaneous with it is the poem *Harivaṃśa*,¹ obviously modelled on the Sanskrit work of this name, dealing with the abduction of Rukmiṇī and the abductor's fight with Jarāsandha. The *Smaradahana* (1185 A. D.) is, perhaps, inspired by the *Kumāra-sambhava*. The theme of the *Bhōmakāvya* is the defeat of Indra and other gods by Bhoma or Naraka, son of Earth, and his slaughter by Kṛṣṇa. A noteworthy poetical work is the *Nāgara-kṛtāgama* (1365 A. D.) by Prapañca. The subject-matter of the *Kṛṣṇāyana*, by Triguna, resembles that of the aforesaid *Harivaṃśa*. A similar theme occurs in the *Kṛṣṇāyana* (1104 A. D.) of Triguna, court-poet of king Varjayd. The *Kṛṣṇāntaka* deals with Kṛṣṇa's demise and the annihilation of his race. The Kawi works, *Indravijaya*, *Bhīmasvarga*, *Pārthayajña*, *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* and *Harivijaya* are also based on the *Mahābhārata*. The *Kakawins*, called *Sumana-sāntaka*, *Arjuna-vijaya* and *Harīśraya*, appear to have been inspired by the *Rāmāyaṇa* ; the *Raghuvamśa* might have served as the model for the

1. Ed. and translated into Dutch by A. Teeuw, the Hague, 1950.

first mentioned work. The *Nitiśāstra-kawin* is a collection of detached good sayings and maxims. It appears to have been influenced by the Sanskrit works *Nitiśataka*, *Pañcatantra*, *Cāṇakyaśloka* etc. Some of its verses are clearly renderings of Sanskrit stanzas. *Kuñjarakarṇa*, a noteworthy didactic work, shows familiarity with the doctrines of the transmigration of soul and *Karman* which are often discussed in Sanskrit works. The *Kāmandaka-rājanīti* is obviously modelled on the Sanskrit *Nitisāra* of Kāmandaka. Some passages of the Javanese *Nitipraya* remind one of the *Arthasāstra*.

Besides the above, hymns, religious works including Tantras, written in Java in Sanskrit or influenced by Sanskrit, bear elequent testimony to the wide cultivation and deep influence of Sanskrit literature. Among the Tāntric works, the most noteworthy is the *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahājñāna*. Another Tāntric work, written in the same fashion, is the *Sang-Hyang, Kamāhā-yanikan*. The *Sūryasevana* and the *Gāruḍeya-mantra* are the most noteworthy among the religious works; these are written in old Javanese. The *Bhuvanakośa* and the *Bhuvana-saṁkṣepa* in Sanskrit are famous Śaiva works. The *Caturpakṣopadeśa*, dealing with spiritual orders, betrays the influence of the Sanskrit religious literature.

On the Javanese literature on jurisprudence there is considerable influence of Sanskrit works, particularly of the *Manusmṛti*. The *Śivaśāsana* or *Purvādhigama* are suffused with Indian spirti. The

Indian term, *Āgama*, is used by Indonesians to denote their law-codes. The *Kutāramānava* (also called *Āgama*) is, as the name indicates, largely based on Manu's work. The law-code, *Kramaning Sākṣi*, contains some Sanskrit verses, and reveals the influence of Manu. The *Svara-Jambu* is an adaptation or translation of a large part of the eighth chapter of the *Manusmṛti*.

In Purāṇic literature, the most noted work is the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, mainly modelled on Indian Purāṇa. In the work, *Agastya-parvan*, written in Javanese with Sanskrit quotations interspersed, Agastya has related in Purāṇic style, the creation of earth. It shows the popularity of the Agastya cult. The two works of Java, *Ādipurāṇa* and *Bhuvana-purāṇa*, no doubt deal with well-known Purāṇic legends; but no Sanskrit work, on which these may have drawn, is available. The *Bhuvana-purāṇa* contains corrupt Sanskrit verses.

The *Bṛhaspati-tattva*,¹ discovered in Java, contains seventy-four Sanskrit stanzas, with corresponding exposition in old Javanese. No work of the title has as yet been discovered in India. No Sanskrit work contains the verses of the above work in exactly the same form. It deals with Śaiva philosophy. Another philosophical work, discovered in Java, is the *Gaṇapati-tattva*²; no work of this title has come to light in India.

1. Ed., with Eng. trs. and gloss, by S. Devi, International academy of Indian Culture, Delhi 1957.

2. Ibid, 1958.

The *Vratīśāsana*³, of uncertain date, is written in old Javanese with Sanskrit verses interspersed. It appears to be a manual for the use of ascetics, and shows high regard for the Indian ideal of ascetic life.

The Wayang literature of Java, corresponding, to some extent, to the Sanskrit *Chāyā-nāṭaka*, shows considerable influence of the Indian epics. Some scholars have traced the influence of Sanskrit literature on the written and unwritten legends and romances of Java.

The *Tantri Kāmandaka* and other works of the Tantri group, as well as those of the Kañcil group, dealing with beast-fables and folk-tales, betray intimate influence of the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*.

Some historical works of Java, notably the *Nāgara-kṛtāgama*, appears to be indebted to Sanskrit works.

BALI

It is not known precisely when Bali began to absorb Hindu culture. It, however, seems probable that the people of Bali came into direct contact with Hinduism long before the impact of Hindu-Javanese culture on the island. The oldest inscriptions, dating back to the ninth century onwards, are in old Balinese intermixed with Sanskrit. The influence of Java appears to have been felt from the

3. Ed., with notes by, S. Rani, Delhi, 1961.

eleventh century onward till about 1350 A. D. when the island came under the political domination of Java.

Several works in Bali pass under the name of Veda. But, these have really nothing to do with the Indian Vedic Saṁhitās. For example, the work, entitled *Caturveda*, is almost identical with the *Nārāyaṇātharvaśīrṣopaniṣad*. It is full of lacunae and corrupt Sanskrit. Its four chapters are named after the four Vedic Saṁhitās, The *Buddhaveda* appears to contain an incomplete Buddhist death-ritual. In Bali 'Veda' is usually used to denote *Pūjā*. The fragments of Vedic literature, found in Bali, are a *pāda* of the *Sāvitrī mantra* (*bhargo devasya dhīmahi*), a verse to the sacred thread occurring in *Gṛhyasūtras*, five names of Śiva, with the litany associated with them, as found in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*.

Besides the above, some of the Javanese Sanskrit works are popular in Bali. As instances may be cited the *Sārasamuccaya*, *Ślokāntara*, *Mahābhārata*, *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

The major portion of Sanskrit writings in Bali comprise hymns (*stava*, *stuti*). Mystic *bija mantras* of Tantra, e. g. *hrīm*, *grīm* etc., with their significance, are known. Some of the hymns are composed in highflown style with correct Sanskrit, while others have corrupt Sanskrit mixed with the local language. Some hymns are protective and called *kavaca*. Most important among these is the *Rāmakavaca* in fairly correct Sanskrit; a portion

of is almost identical with passages of Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Gods, presiding over different directions (*lokapālas*), are recognised. Other prominent deities are Viṣṇu, Śiva, Varuṇa etc. The rites and rituals of the people are tinged with Brāhmaṇical and Tantric practices.

The prevalence of the caste-system in Bali in the Hindu pattern is an eloquent testimony of Hindu influence there. There is, however, none in Bali who is beyond the pale of the caste system. In other words, there are no outcastes. The Brāhmaṇa priest, called *pedanda* in Balinese, is held in high esteem.

The intimate influence of Sanskrit on the life of the people of Bali is evidenced, *inter alia*, by loan words from Sanskrit with change of their original connotation. A few such words are given below.

Balinese
mangsa (to devour)

Sanskrit
māṃsa

(It is interesting to note that the derivative meaning of the word is, according to the *Manu-smṛti*, V. 55, this —the one whose flesh I eat will eat mine in the other world.)

biseka (name)
gumi (kingdom)

abhiṣeka
bhūmi

The folklore and fable literature of Bali are, to a great extent, modelled on the *Pañcatantra*.

Several Sanskrit works, found in this land, indicate that Sanskrit language and literature were at one time cultivated in this region. In a book, entitled *Kāṛakasamgraha*, indebtedness to *Kātantra* grammar and 'Kavindra' Pāṇini has been acknowledged. The *Caritra-rāmāyaṇa* or *Kavi Jānakī* is written in the local language ; it is an epitome of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Valmiki. The Javanese *Navaruci*, based on the *Mahābhārata*, about which we have written before, is popular in Bali too. As in Java, so in Bali, too, the two works on Saivism, entitled *Bhuvanakośa* and *Bhuvana-saṁkṣepa*, have been preserved. The influence of the *Manu-smṛti* in Bali is noteworthy.

Several versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* exist in Bali. The Wayang literature of Bali, corresponding to same extent, to the Sanskrit *Chāya-nāṭaka*, reveals influence of the Indian epics. Some scholars have pointed out the influence of Sanskrit literature on the written and unwritten legends and romances of Bali. The Wariga (astrology and astronomy) literature and the cosmogony of Bali reveal profound influence of Sanskrit works.

BORNEO

Barhiṇa-dvīpa of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (48. 12), perhaps, refers to Borneo. If that be so, India's contact with, or at least knowledge of, Borneo dates back to the third or fourth century A. D. the probable date of origin of this Purāṇa. Karpūradvīpa, mentioned in the drama *Viddhasalabhanjikā* by

Rajasekhara, is taken by some to refer to Borneo. But others think that it refers to the Śrīvijaya empire which comprised Sumatra and Borneo.

The Indianised kingdom of Funan was founded as early as the first century A. D. Borneo became familiar with Indian culture in two ways—through contact with the above kingdom and maritime activities of India.

Seven Sanskrit inscriptions, dating back to the 4th. century A. D., found in this land, appear to hint at the one-time existence of a Hindu State and the influence of religious and secular works in Sanskrit. Hindu sculptures were found in a cave at Goenoeng Kombeng in Borneo. Some of the inscriptions contain the Sanskrit words *bahusuvarṇika* (sacrifice), *bahudāna*, *jīvadāna*, *kalpavṛkṣadāna*, *bhūmidāna* etc.

The art and achitecture of Borneo reveal profound Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite influence.

THAILAND (Siam)

Contact between Thailand and India was established in remote ages. Waves of Indian immigration into Thailand brought the two lands closer to each other. The first wave appears to have taken place about the beginning of the Christian era. By the second-third century the Indians were fully established and began to influence Thai culture.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of the land is called *Rāmakien*, composed during 1781-1798 A. D. The story is

based on *Valmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* with variations. *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes are represented in several sculptures and murals, enacted on the stage and performed in the popular mask-dance. A wall-painting from Phrakheo Vat, Bangkok, beautifully depicts a *Rāmāyaṇa* scene.

The Thai people appear to have been familiar with Sanskrit Purāṇa literature. The Siamese works, called *Nārāi-Sibpān*, deal with the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu.

The wide popularity of the Brahmanical deity, Gaṇeśa, in Thailand attests the influence of Sanskrit indirectly. A bronze statue of Gaṇeśa, in the well-known Hindu temple of Bangkok, represents him as holding a manuscript ; this may be derived from the traditional association of the deity with Vyāsa while writing out the *Mahābhārata*.

The cult of Agastya, the legendary ancestor of all the immigrants in the cultural field, is very popular in Thailand. Agastya is accorded an exalted position. A stone inscription in Sanskrit, found there, points to its Brahmanical character and the prevalence of Sanskrit learning.

The legal system of Siam appears to be based on the *Manusmṛti*. A legal treatise is entitled *Phra Dharmaśāstra* ; this unmistakably shows the influence of Hindu Dharmaśāstra.

The vocabulary of the Thai language contains a large number of words which are either pure Sanskrit or derivatives from Sanskrit. As instances

of the former, we may mention *viṭāha*, *velā* etc. which have the same sense in Thai as in Sanskrit. A few examples of words, derived from Sanskrit, are given below :

SANSKRIT	THAI
<i>grantha</i>	<i>khantha</i>
<i>saṃgha</i>	<i>saṃkha</i>
<i>candra</i>	<i>janthara</i>
<i>sukhi bhavatu</i>	<i>sukhi hotu</i>
<i>vihāra</i>	<i>vihana</i>
<i>nagara</i>	<i>nakhon</i>
<i>vrkṣa</i>	<i>phruk phuk</i>

LAOS

Of contacts between Laos and India since the early centuries of the Christian era, there is evidence. The Hindu Mon dynasty appears to have ruled over Laos in the sixth century A. D. The Brāhmaṇical deity, Śiva, used to be worshipped in this land. Signs of Indian influence, including Hindu, are scattered here and there. *Garuḍa* and *Nāga*, carved on the Vat Pa Rock, and representations of *dvārapālas* at the gateways to shrines are instances in point.

The earliest Lava literature or the literature of Laos has numerous Sanskrit or Sanskritic words in its vocabulary. It bears the clear impress of the influence of Sanskrit grammar, lexicography and prosody. As a matter of fact, the real Lava classical

poetical literature is constituted by translation of Sanskrit poems. The didactic and satirical literature as well as fables of Laos owe much of the inspiration to Sanskrit literature. The Lava *Pañcatantra* is largely derived from the Sanskrit work of this name. The title *Mulla Tantai*, given to another collection of stories, is derived from Sanskrit *Mūla Tantra*.

There are several books dealing with *Rājanīti*. Of these, the most celebrated is the *Rajasavani*; the very title is Sanskritic. It is a commentary on verses collected from Sanskrit sources. The topics, viz. four *upāyas*, *rājaguṇas* etc. betray Sanskrit origin.

The scenes, represented on the Laotian stage, generally relate to episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

ANNAM

The Annamite form of the *Rāmakathā* is called 'the king of demons'. In it Rāma and Sītā have imaginary names.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Indian culture is supposed by some to have penetrated into this region in the pre-Buddhistic times. Of pre-Christian contacts between India and this land there is abundant archaeological evidence, as pointed out by Beyer. It is believed by some, notably Agoncillo, that the Indian

influence on the life and culture of the people of this region was not direct, but through the Malays who absorbed Hinduism first. The Malays are supposed to have migrated to the Philippines in three successive periods ; the first about 300-200 B. C., the second from the beginning of the Christian era and continuing up to the thirteenth century, the last one taking place from the latter half of the fourteenth century to the fifteenth. Some scripts of the region appear to have been modelled on Indian, particularly South Indian, alphabets. In some provincial dialects, there is influence of Sanskrit and Dravidian languages. At several places in the Philippines, the icons of the Brahmanical deities Śiva, Gaṇeśa etc., have been preserved. The people of this region were influenced not merely by Indian culture, but also by Sanskrit Śāstras. That the people were closely familiar with the *Manusmṛti* in remote antiquity is proved by their establishment of the statue of Manu.¹

Four inscriptions of a Śrīvijaya king, dating back to a period between 682-686 A. D., and written in Sanskritised Malay language, were found in South-east Asia, more precisely North Sumatra and Philippine coast. Another inscription in Sanskritised Javanese, dated 304 A. D., was found in East Java. These inscriptions contained Sanskrit words

1. It stands in the Art Gallery of the Senate Chamber of the Philippine Republic. See K. Motwani, *Manu Dharmaśāstra*. P. 322.

which infiltrated into Philippine probably between 900 and 1100 A. D.

The vocabulary of the Philippines reveals some Sanskrit or Sanskritic words. For example,

<i>bahagi</i>	corresponding to	Sanskrit	<i>bhāga</i>
<i>kathā</i>	„		<i>kathā</i>
<i>diwata</i>	„		<i>devatā</i>
<i>dukha</i>	„		<i>duḥkha</i>
<i>samasama</i>	„		<i>sama</i>
<i>guro</i>	„		<i>guru</i>
<i>sigla</i>	„		<i>śighra</i>
<i>mukha</i>	„		<i>mukha</i>
<i>sutla</i>	„		<i>sūtra</i>
<i>mula</i>	„		<i>mūla</i>

The literary works, mythology and folklore of Philippine reveal indebtedness to India. For instance, *Darangon*, the longest epic in early literature of the land, is fundamentally Indian in plot and characterisation. The tale of the *Ifugao Ralituk* reminds one of the story of Arjuna getting water from a rock, pierced by his arrow, for Bhiṣma dying of thirst.

The literature of the non-Christian people of the Philippines reveals remarkable indebtedness to Sanskrit. The story of the *Bantugan*, an epic of the Muslims, is chiefly derived from the *Mahābhārata*. The names of some of the characters in this work show Indian influence ; eg Bakarmata and Bhāratamata appear to be derived from Viśvakarma and Bhāratamata respectively. Certain gods of the Muslim pantheon remind one of Indian

deities ; e.g. Marug, god of ocean, is, perhaps, Varuṇa ; Malali, grief, seems to have been modelled on Yama. Baratamay Lumna, god of nourishment, has many of the characteristics of Śiva. The highest Tagalog god, Bathala, has the features of Indra. The crude forms of quite a number of Vedic hymns are current in the folk-songs of the Muslims. The ancient monarchs of Bumbaran in Mindanao are the same as Vedic gods of India.

The spread of Tāntricism in the Far East seems to be indicated by the fact that, according to the *Śaktimaṅgala* Tantra, Viṣṇukrānta is the name of the region extending from the Vindhya Hill up to Java in the Far East.

That Sanskrit culture is still held in high esteem in the Far East is proved by the interest in, and concern for, the traditional values enshrined in the Indian Epics. A few years ago, Indonesia held the International *Rāmāyaṇa* festival at village Pandaan in East Java.

III

CHINA, JAPAN, KOREA, MONGOLIA

The contacts between China and India spread over a span of two millenniums. The two vast countries came close to each other when, about 200 years ago, the Hans Empire of China attempted to push its frontiers towards the Caspian Sea. The two countries had commercial relations from hoary antiquity. The ancient poet, Kalidasa, who perhaps cannot be dated later than the third or fourth century A. D., mentions China silk (*cīnāmśuka*) in his *Abhijñānaśakuntalā*. Even the much older work, the *Mahābhārata*, the present form of which dates back to the fourth century A. D., according to Winternitz, mentions the Cina neighbours of the Tokharians. With the spread of Buddhism, the Chinese Buddhists began to look upon India as a place of pilgrimage. Many distinguished Chinese came to India, and lived there for a long time with the object of acquiring knowledge about religion and philosophy. Glowing accounts of India were left by the Chinese travellers, Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsang and Itsing.

On Chinese literature, too, the influence of Sanskrit literature is not negligible. Many Indian Buddhist scholars, through ages, chose China as the place of their activity and spent their lives there. In the third century, the celebrated Chinese religious

preacher, Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) translated several Sanskrit works into Chinese. We are informed that, in the same century, the Chinese monk, Chushen Hing, sent many Sanskrit manuscripts from Khotan to China, In this very century the Chinese scholar, Sheng Hui, translated many Sanskrit works into Chinese. Ti-shan wrote a history of Sanskrit literature.

The famous scholar, Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.) was among the captives at the hands of the victorious Chinese who invaded Kuchi in Central Asia in the fourth century. When brought to China, he became the royal priest. Under his supervision, many Śāstric works in Sanskrit were translated into Chinese ; these include the *Mādhyamikāśāstra*, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. In the same century, an Indian scholar, named Gautama Saṃghadeva, went over from Kashmir to China where he translated several Sanskrit works into Chinese. Buddhābhaddra (359-429 A. D.) translated the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*.

In the fifth century, Buddhajīva, a Kashmirian monk, translated into Chinese some Sanskrit works brought by Fa-Hien. In the same century, the monk, Guṇavarman, grandson of Haribhadra, king of Kashmir, and son of Saṃghānanda, went to China after visiting Java and some other countries. He translated eleven Sanskrit works into Chinese. The *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, with several other Mahāyāna texts, was translated about 421 A. D. by

Dharmakṣema (385-433) who was originally a native of Central India.

The Khotan scholar, Śikṣānanda (652-710 A. D.), who went to China in 695 A. D., translated into Chinese the Mahāyāna Sanskrit work, *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, which is now lost. He did it in collaboration with Bodhiruci, a South Indian Buddhist monk, according to some, a North Indian according to others, who, at the invitation of the Chinese ambassador, went to China. He himself and in collaboration with some Chinese and Indian scholars, translated as many as 53 Sanskrit works into Chinese. His most outstanding contribution is the translation of the voluminous Mahāyāna treatise, *Ratnakūṭa*, the manuscript of which was taken by Hiuen Tsang from India to China. Bodhiruci, along with others, translated Vasubandhu's twelve volumes of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*; the translation commenced in 508 A. D. Paramārtha (499-569 A. D., who appears to have been originally an Indian, came to China in 546 A. D. Of the several works, translated by him the most noteworthy is the *Mahāyāna-parisaṃgraha-sāstra* of Vasubandhu.

Śubhākarasiṃha (637-735 A. D.) took manuscripts of a large number of Sanskrit works to China. Of these, some were translated by him into Chinese.

The famous traveller, Hiuen-Tsang (600-664 A. D.), acquired 657 Sanskrit works. In 645 A. D. he returned to China where he translated several

scriptures including the *Yogācārabhūmi*, *Abhidharmakośa*, *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi-sāstra*.

The last Indian Buddhist scholars to visit China were Vajrabodhi (671-741 A. D.) and his disciple Amoghavajra (705-774 A. D.). Vajrabodhi is known to have accompanied a group of preachers deputed by the king of Ceylon. While in China, he translated into Chinese a number of Sanskrit works.

In connexion with a manuscript, found in China, W. Budge of the British Museum, London, says that he has found in it direct references to the Laws of Manu.¹

There are some Sanskrit works relating to Buddhism the originals of which are lost. These are preserved only in Chinese versions.² A few such works are mentioned below.

Satya (or, Tattva)-siddhi-sāstra—a Hinayāna work by the Sarvāstivādin Harivarman of Kashmir.

Brahmajāla-sūtra belonging to Mahāyāna Vinaya.

Prajñāpāramitā—belonging to Mahāyāna. Major portion of the original is lost and preserved in Chinese and Tibetan versions.

Ratnakūṭa—belonging to Mahāyāna. Of this huge collection, a complete account is preserved in Chinese translation alone.

Mahāsannipāta—of it the foremost huge work, *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, is lost and preserved in Chinese rendering only.

1. See K. Mōtwani : *Manu Dharmaśāstra*, p. 232.

2. For details, see P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 136-45.

Besides the above, several Sanskrit works by Śīlabhadra (d. 654 A. D.), a Bengali scholar and Principal of Nalanda Mahāvihāra, are known only from Chinese versions.

It is interesting to note that *Rāmāyaṇa* stories were translated into Chinese. For example, the *Jātaka* of an unknown king, the 46th. story of Roku-do-jikayo, translated by Ko-so-e (247 A. D.) and the Nidāna of king 'Ten Luxuries', the first story of Zo-ho-zo-kyo translated by Kik-ka-ya-were translated into Chinese. The Sanskrit or Pali originals of these stories appear to be lost. Chinese life and literature were considerably influenced by Chinese translations of Sanskrit works. Besides the translations, referred to above, mention may be made of some Chinese versions. Dharmagupta, (d. 619 A. D.) a south Indian, spent twenty-eight years in China and translated several Sanskrit texts into Chinese. The famous traveller, I-tsing, was a renowned translator. The *Aśokāvadāna* was translated into Chinese about 300 A. D. It enjoyed tremendous popularity. Portions of the *Mahābhārata* were translated into Chinese. We are informed that the two entire epics are being translated.

The Chinese envoy to Western countries, named Cittavarman, is known to have returned to China after studying Sanskrit. The scholar, Hsüen-chu, spent a number of years in India acquiring profound knowledge of Sanskrit and Buddhist literatures.

The influence of Tantra on China appears to be indicated by the fact that, according to the

Śaktimaṅgala Tantra, the land of Rathakrānta extends from the above hill to the north comprising Nepal and Mahācīna.

That the Brahmanical deity, Gaṇeśa, was worshipped in China in ancient times is proved by the existence of two representations of it there.

The *Śakuntalā*, partly translated before, has been completely rendered into Chinese and presented on the stage.

JAPAN

The Land of the Rising Sun was inhabited by the people to whom the sun was an important god bestowing health and intellect. A branch of the Aryans colonised Japan long before the advent of the Buddha. Probably they introduced some Sanskrit scriptures, particularly the Dharmaśāstra of Manu, in that land.¹

Closer familiarity of the Japanese with Sanskrit dates back to the period when Buddhism spread there. It happened in the first quarter of the sixth century through China and Korea. It was from Chinese translations of Sanskrit texts that the Japanese learnt of this literature. Some Japanese think that several Japanese Buddhist monks learnt Sanskrit from a south Indian Brahmin who is stated, in some ancient Japanese works, to have become a

1. For the impact of Sanskrit in Japan, see H. Kimura, *Sanskrit Studies in Japan*, *Jour. of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1956-57.

Buddhist monk and settled in Japan. Thereafter, one Kukai, a Japanese monk, went to China. Having studied many Śāstras there, he returned to Japan in the beginning of the ninth century and made arrangements for regularly learning Sanskrit. Then, the Buddhist monks mastered the Sanskrit script called *Siddham*.

Nearly 300 years ago, the Japanese monk, Juin Surya, made some progress in the compilation of a Sanskrit-Japanese lexicon. He prepared also a list of Sanskrit manuscripts, relating to Buddhism, found in Japan, and published some of them. Of the published works, the most celebrated was the *Sukhāvati-vyūha-nāma Mahāyāna-sūtra*. No other manuscript of this work is known to exist anywhere.

~~There~~ are evidences to show that Tantric religion, particularly Buddhist Tantricism, was introduced into Japan quite early.

It is interesting to note that about 900 Indian deities are represented in Japanese art. Such deities of Indian origin as Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva (Maheśvara), Pārvatī (Uma), Sarasvatī have found their way into the Japanese pantheon. These are called Bonten, ?, Unahi, Dajisai-ten and Benzaiten respectively in Japanese. Āditya (Nitton) appears in Japan also racing on fiery horses. Gaṇapati or Vināyaka is a very important Japanese deity. In Japanese he is also called Kangiten (god of happiness, prosperity and wellbeing) and Shodenn (Āryadeva in Sanskrit). Most of the deities retain their original forms. For example, Sarasvatī is

represented with a *Vīṇā* (lute) which is *Biwa* in Japanese, Gaṇapati has his elephant-face. In some cases, variations occur. For instance, Sarasvatī has her hair tied backward like a Japanese girl. Gaṇapati is sometimes represented as having an axe and a radish.

The names of several sages of India, e. g. Vasiṣṭha, Aṅgiras, Atri, occur in Japanese literature.

It should be added that *Maṇḍalas* (diagrams) and *Mudrās* (hand postures) form an essential part of worship in Japan. Obviously borrowed from Tantra, these devices may not reveal the influence of Sanskrit; but an Indian origin may, perhaps, be surmised.

The influence of Sanskrit, however, is most marked on the Japanese *Iroha* poem. It is a curious literary piece containing the complete alphabet of fifty letters each of which occurs but once. K. Daishi, a stalwart in the cultural evolution of Japan, invented the Katakana alphabet of fifty sounds based on Sanskrit alphabet. The poem itself owes its inspiration to the Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. It is so popular that even to-day the Japanese children begin their education with this wonderful poem.

It is important to note that the arrangement of Japanese syllabary in fifty letters, following Sanskrit alphabet, testify to the profound influence of Sanskrit. Bodhisena, who is credited with this, was an Indian. We are informed that he used to teach Sanskrit at three Japanese monasteries till his death in 760 A. D.

We have evidence of the influence of Āyurveda in Japan. In the Japanese Imperial Treasury, the Shoso-In, several drugs, with the corresponding Indian names, have been preserved since the eighth century.

The discovery of fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts, written in the fourth century Brāhmī script, and the very important manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* at Horyūji monastery, in the sixth century Brāhmī script, bears eloquent testimony to the Sanskrit influence in Japan in remote antiquity.

H. Nakamura points out the influence of Sanskrit stories on some of the Japanese ones. It seems that the Japanese idea of a hare living in the moon was derived from the Indian belief whence the moon is called *śaśin*. The *Sasekishu*, a collection of Japanese popular tales, contains the story of the monkey and his liver, well-known in Sanskrit. The Indian story of the monoceros sage (*ekaśṛṅga ṛṣi*), *Rṣyaśṛṅga*, seems to have inspired the Japanese anecdote of Ikkaku Sennin (Sennin meaning sage), which was, perhaps, derived from the *Taiheiki*, the Japanese *Mahābhārata*, Vol. 37, the latter having been obtained from the *Hoon Jarin*, Vol. 71, and the Chinese version of the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtrapadeśa* by Kumārajīva, Vol. 17. The Japanese adaptations introduced certain innovations so as to suit the taste of the common people of Japan.

The same scholar informs us that the Japanese

classical works betray a large measure of Indian influence.¹

The *Gītā* and some other Sanskrit works have been translated into Japanese. There is a Japanese translation of the Upaniṣad. The *Ṛtusamhāra* has also been translated. Other prominent Sanskrit works to be translated are the *Manusmṛiti* and the *Arthasāstra*.

Besides the scholars of Japan, mentioned above, the following also have distinguished themselves in the field of Sanskrit scholarship. N. Bunyan, Jyunjiro, Takakusu, Sukaki, Ojihara, Nakana, Kimura, Ikeda, Hara.

KOREA

There are evidences of early contact between Korea and India. Korea appears to have been a medium through which much of Indian culture found its way to China and Japan. We know of several Indian Ācāryas who visited Korea in the early centuries of the Christian era. The first of them, called Ahdo in Korea, whose Indian name is unknown, went to Korea in 37 A. D. Ten years later came the second Indian named Mallananda. In 417 A. D. came the third one who is known in Korea as Mookhoja. The last Indian to visit that land, known so far, was the one called Jigong in Korea. He went there in

1. See O. Tanaka, *Indo Minwa-shu*, Tokyo, Kawade-shobo, 1952.

the fourteenth century A. D. I-chang (635-713 A. D.), the Korean, reached India in 673, studied at Nalanda for ten years, travelled throughout the country and acquired many Sanskrit works. Among the eminent Korean scholars, interested in India, was Wuncheuk (613-696 A. D.) of Silla. He possessed profound knowledge of Sanskrit. We know of six Korean pilgrims who visited India and studied there.

The most outstanding achievement of Korea in the field of Buddhist Sanskrit is the publication of the *Mahādharmakośa* in ten thousand seven hundred fascicules. It having been burnt by the invading Mongols, another edition was published in 1236 A. D. at the time of King Kjong. It is the oldest extant edition of the work.

MONGOLIA

We have evidence to prove that Sanskrit culture exerted influence in Mongolia. In some Shamanist texts of that land we find logical objects in Sanskrit. Borrowings from Sanskrit are noticeable in Mongolian epic songs and Shamanist hymns. Sanskrit names like Sumeru occur among the Mongols and the Mongolian typonymy.

In Shamanist hymns of the 14th-17th centuries, we find names of several Indian deities, e. g. Bisnu (Viṣṇu), Bismān tugri (Vaiśravaṇa deva), Esrua (Brahma) etc. Among the Mongolian people, the name Garuḍa is used like a masculine proper

name—Garudi, Temur Garudi (Garuḍa of iron), Olfei Garudi (Garudi of good fortune) etc. According to popular belief, the Shamanist spirit of the sacred mountain, Bagdo Khan Oula, to the south of Ulanbatar is personified as a huge Garuḍa. with wings stretched out. In the epic songs of Mongolia, current among the Buriats of Irkutsk. the Sanskrit name Garuḍa is recognised in the form Kherédei or Khan Keredei.

The doctrine of incarnation (*avatāra*), so common in Sanskrit works, appears to have influenced the Shamanism of Mongolia. In an old Shamanist prayer, the youngest son of Genghis Khan and the wife of Emperor Kublai are regarded as incarnations of Samantabhadra and Bodhisattva Tārā respectively.

There is a Mongolian translation of the Arabic version of the *Pañcatantra*. It is ascribed to Abu Nasr (d. 1280 A. D.).

Of the familiarity of the Mongols with the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, *Vikramacarita* and *Śukasaptati* there is some evidence. Many Vetāla stories have Mongolian versions in the language of the Kalmucks, a race of Mongolian origin.

It was, perhaps, through the Mongols, who held sway over Europe for about two centuries, that tales of the above works travelled to that continent.

IV

CENTRAL ASIA, TRANSBAIKALIAN SIBERIA

Central Asia may or may not have been the original home of the Aryans. But, of the influence Sanskrit in this region there is not a shadow of doubt. The trade relations between this region and India are very old. Indian cultural influence has, however, overshadowed the commercial relations. It was due to missionary activities and the political power of the Kushanas that Buddhism spread near the vast stretch of land between the Caspian Sea and the Chinese Wall. Archaeological excavations have revealed the ruins of innumerable Buddhist *Stūpas*, monasteries, images of Buddhist and Brāhmanical deities. Many Sanskrit manuscripts, records in Indian languages and alphabets have also been unearthed. The explorer, Aurel Stein, testifies to the atmosphere of Indianisation observed by him among the excavated areas. The dissemination of Buddhism and Indian culture over the area is also vouched by Hiuen Tsang (7th century) who passed through the region in his travel to India and back.

Kucha (ancient Kuchi) in Central Asia is at present called Kuch. Historical evidence is available that, in this region, Sanskrit astronomy, Āyurveda etc, were cultivated, Many works in

local language betray the influence of Sanskrit works. A fragmentary work in the Brāhmī script, found here, appears to have been composed in the second century A. D. Kumārajīva, a famous Buddhist monk of Kuchi, is known to have studied Sanskrit Śāstras, particularly those relating to Mahāyāna, of Kashmir. He is said to have initiated the people of Kuch to the study of such important Mahāyāna works as Āryadeva's *Śatasāstra* Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamaka-śāstra* etc. Several Sanskrit works on Buddhism were translated into the language of Kuchi. P. C. Bagchi holds that these translations constitute the sole literature of Kuchi.¹

The ancient Agnideśa was located on the way from Kuchi to Tun Hwang. The script of the people of this place was Brāhmī. There are evidences to prove that they knew Sanskrit. Many Sanskrit manuscripts in Brāhmī script were preserved in the Library of this place. At Khora, near Agnideśa, manuscripts of the *Śatapathaśataka* and the *Catuhśataka*, and two hymns by Mātṛceta have been recovered.

It is noteworthy that the language of Khotan was transformed into a literary language under the influence of Sanskrit. Scholars guess that the *Vaipulyasūtra* and *Mahāsannipāta*, the two lost works on Mahāyāna, were partly written in the Gomati Vihara of Khotan. The name of another

1. See *Bhārat O Madhya Eśtyā* (in Bengali), p. 51.

original Sanskrit text, composed here, is *Jiṛṇamūrkhā-sūtra*. It is lost and is preserved in translations into several languages including the language of Kuchi. A versified Sanskrit text, with a Khotanese Saka translation, of a medical work has been found. Also available are some Uigurian medical texts derived from Sanskrit originals¹. The Brāhmaṇical deity, Gaṇeśa, found its way to Khotan where it had been very popular since early times.

In the beginning of the present century, the German Professor, Gruenwedel, discovered many Sanskrit manuscripts at several places of Central Asia. About the same time, the French scholar, P. Pelliot, came across quite a number of Sanskrit manuscripts of which the most noteworthy are the fragments of Sanskrit *Tripitṭaka*. Before this discovery the existence of any manuscript of this work, written in any language other than Pāli, was not known.

At several places of Central Asia, such Sanskrit manuscripts as can be described as landmarks in the history of Sanskrit literature, have been discovered. We shall briefly describe them below.

The Bower Manuscript was discovered by Bower in 1890 A. D at Kashgar. Paleographically it is assigned to the fourth century A. D. It contains seven treatises of which parts I-III deal with medical science, IV and V with cubomancy and VI and VII with *Mahāmāyurī Vidyārājñī*, a charm to be used as a remedy against snake-bite.

1. Pub. by G. R. Rachmati in *SBPAW*, 1930 and 1932.

Fragments of the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* by Aśvaghoṣa (C. 1st century A. D.) and two other Sanskrit dramas of unknown authorship were found in Turfan. From this place was also recovered the Buddhist Sanskrit text, *Kalpanāmaṇḍitika*. It was with Turfan as the capital that the Uigur Turks founded an empire in the ninth century which lasted up to the eleventh. During this period an Uigur literature developed being enriched by Sanskritic tradition. It is the earliest literature of the Turkic people to whom it was a precious heritage. The Weber Manuscript is a Kiychean translation of a collection of Sanskrit medical recipes. A part of the *Yogaśataka* by Nāgārjuna or Vararuci contains the Sanskrit text with Kuchean translation. The text is a summary of the *Aṣṭāṅga* of Āyurveda.

At Bamien many cave-temples have been discovered. In them have been found many Sanskrit manuscripts relating to Buddhism.

Besides the above, a fragmentary Khotanese translation of the *Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa-sūtra*, a Sanskrit Mahāyāna work, has been found in Khotan.

The *Udānavarga*, a Sanskrit work of the Buddhist *Sarvāstivāda* school, of which the earliest portion appears to have been composed in the oldest Kushana period (1st cent. A. D.) and the original of which is lost in India, has been discovered in Central Asia. It was translated into Kuchean. At Tun-huang was found Khotanese versions of the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā*, the *Aparimitayuh-sūtra* and also fragments of the

Sanskrit original of Maṭṛceta's *Śatapañcaśataka-stotra*.

Several places of Central Asia, e. g. Endere and Niya, have yielded seals depicting the figures of Kubera and Gaṇeśa. Figures of Śiva and Viṣṇu also have been found.

We shall conclude our account of the impact of Sanskrit on various countries of the East beyond India with a survey of the cultivation of this literature in modern times in those regions.

Lokesh Chandra¹ draws attention of scholars to the close similarities between Sanskrit culture and that represented by Turkic. Vast areas of Asia and Europe are inhabited by the Turkic speaking peoples. A comparative study reveals many affinities between the two cultures. We shall briefly note the salient ones.

The ancient Turkic texts are largely adaptations and renderings from Sanskrit. It is noteworthy that the ancient Turks used the Indian Brahmi script in writing their language. Turkic texts in this script date back to the eighth and ninth centuries. A. D. The Berlin Collection contains more than a hundred Turkic fragments in this script. In most of them Sanskrit words are followed by their Turkic equivalents. Many Sanskrit words were assimilated into ancient Turkic. Some such words, with their corresponding Turkic forms, are noted below.

1. The following account is based on his paper, entitled *Sanskrit Culture in Turkish*.

Sanskrit	Turkic
Viṣṇu	Viṣnu
Pātra	Batir
Jātaka	Čadik
Vihāra	Vrxar
Rṣi	Irzi

Among the literary works in ancient Turkic, unearthed till now, important are the fragments of the following : *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Maitreya-sūtra*, the Tantric text *Yitikan-sudur*. *Prajñārakṣita* rendered the *Maitreyasemiti-nāṭaka* into Uigur.

In Uigur Turkic are preserved many remains of the Avadāna literature. Of these, noteworthy are those of Haricandra, Kañcanasāra, Mahendrasena, Priyamkara, Saddanta, Āṭavaka, Kalmāṣapāda, Sutsasoma, Dantipāla, Kalyāṇamkara and Pāpamkara. A *Daśakarma - pāṭhā - vadāna - mālā* also exists. Among the Jātakas, we find the *Śaśa-jātaka*. The Turkic title *Tiśastvustik* is derived from Sanskrit *Diśā-svastika* narrating the story of Trapuṣa and Bhallika.

The philosophical texts include the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra*, *Abhidharmakośa* and a letter of Nāgārjuna (preserved in Peking National Library). Fragments of *Āgamas* are found in Sven Hedin Collection at Stockholm. Fragments of the *Prātimokṣa* (*Ksanti ailquluq nom*) also exist.

Among Sanskrit works in Turkic, mention should also be made of the *Mahāmāyuri-sūtra*. The Tantric works *Sarva-durgati-parisodhana*, *Uṣṇṣa-vijayā-dhāraṇī*, *Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī* and the *Samvara-tantra* were translated into Turkic by Puṇyaśrī. The *Udānavarga*, written in Brāhmī script, is preserved in ancient Turkic.

Fragments of some Sanskrit medical texts, e. g. *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta, are preserved in ancient Turkic.

Aurel Stein discovered several hundred Kharoṣṭhī documents in Chinese Turkestan. These documents bear testimony not only to the existence of Indian settlements in that region in early centuries of the Christian era, but also to the remarkable affinity of the local language, Niya Prākṛit, with Sanskrit. Some examples are given below.

Terms in local language.	Corresponding Sanskrit.
<i>maharaya</i>	<i>mahārāja</i>
<i>dajhi</i>	<i>dāst</i>
<i>uṭa</i>	<i>uṣṭra</i>
<i>tacchamṇa</i>	<i>takṣaṇa</i>
<i>bhoyamṇa</i>	<i>bhojana</i>

TRANSBAIKALIAN SIBERIA

The Shaman songs, prevailing in this region, praised Indra, Agni and other Indian deities. Monasteries with xylographs and manuscripts,

various icons etc. indicate that relations existed between this country and India in early times.

Śrīdevī or Kālī found her way into this area in the 1760's, if not earlier. The *Yisun ordeni-yin Ganjur*, comprising 101 big volumes, is a collection of *navaratna* manuscripts. It is the gem of the literature of the region. It contains more than a thousand Sanskrit texts translated into the local language. Every text begins with a remark which may be rendered into English as—in the language of India (i. e. Sanskrit). There are over a dozen texts on Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa. One of them, entitled *Ārya-gaṇapati-stuti*, is attributed to the Siddha Kāṇhapāda, who is, perhaps, identical with the Siddhacārya of this name, with whom some songs of the Bengali *Caryāpada* are associated. The temple-walls are decorated with *aṣṭamaṅgala* emblems. In the monasteries, there is still the practice of welcoming guests with *madhuparka*. In all this, the influence of India, if not of Sanskrit, is reflected. Another manuscript is on the *Mahāvīṇāyaka-rūpa-upadeśa*. Siberian folklore is familiar with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. An abridged version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the Kalmuk language, is available. It is curious that the Siberian Buriyats (Buriyat is the name of some tribes) look upon the Ganges water with reverence. The holy water, being given to them by outsiders, is received by reciting Sanskrit *mantras*. *Āyurveda* appears to have been popular in Siberia. A vast literature on the subject is preserved in libraries. *Āyurvedic* mode of

treatment was adopted by some eminent physicians. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is regarded as a model for linguistic development. The *Meghadūta* is the first lyric of the Siberians. As in India, so in Siberia also new moon and full moon days are regarded as auspicious.

V

AFGHANISTAN, PERSIA, ARABIA

Afghanistan formed an integral part of India even in hoary antiquity. The words *sapta sindhavaḥ*, occurring in the *Ṛgveda*, are believed to refer to the five rivers of the Punjab, viz. Vitastā (Jhelum), Asikni (Chenab), Paruṣṇi (Ravi), Vipāśā (Beas), Śatudri (Sutlej), together with the Indus and Kabul rivers. The corresponding *hapta hindu* of the *Avesta* is supposed to stand for the part of India lying in Eastern Kabulistan.

Early post-Vedic literature, including the *Nirukta*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Mahābhārata*, is familiar with Gandhāra and Afghanistan. Gandhārī, a well-known *Mahābhārata* figure, probably hailed from Gandhāra.

The cultural relations between India and Gandhāra indicate a two-way traffic. Culturally Afghanistan came closer to India through the spread of Buddhism. Trade routes from India and China passed through Afghanistan. These routes also connected China with the Western world. The result was that Afghanistan became not only an emporium of commerce, but also a meeting ground of diverse cultures.

Besides the influence of Sanskrit on the vocabulary and grammatical structure of the language of Afghanistan, Brahmanical and

Buddhistic influence is undoubted. The discovery of the images and carvings of Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya and Mahiṣamardini Durgā at several places of Afghanistan bear testimony to Brahmanical influence. The remains of Buddhist culture abound in various centres in Afghanistan, and prove the profound influence of that religion. Gandhāra art, which developed into a distinct school under the impact of the art of the Roman Empire and with western craftsmen coming mainly from Syria and Alexandria, in its turn, provided profound inspiration to India. This influence is marked on Indian sculpture.

In the domain of music, the influence of Gandhāra is discernible in certain melodies (*rāga*) bearing the name of Gandhāra.

The cultural links between these two countries were also forged by the fact that Afghanistan had been a part of India also politically for many centuries. Of Maurya dominion over this land there is no doubt. The discovery of Aśokan inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic is a pointer to this fact. The Kushāna occupation of the region dates back to about 50 A. D. In the early Gupta régime, too, Afghanistan formed a part of India. With the onrush of the invading Arabs and the diffusion of Islam, the Indian rulers gradually lost their hold on the country. The Hindu rulers of Kabul offered stiff resistance, but had to give way to the aliens in course of time. According to a rough estimate, it remained with Hindu India down

to 1000 A. D. It is but natural that Hindu art wielded a deep influence on Kabul and the adjoining areas during the Hindu period. Of the inspiration, provided by the classical Gupta and Kashmir style, there is no dearth of evidence. Another historical reason of the cultural ties of the two countries is that Afghanistan once formed a part of the Mughal Empire too.

Persia (Iran) has consanguinity with India. Wherever the original home of the Aryans might have been, it is established that, before penetrating into India, they settled in this region. It is no wonder that there is much cultural affinity between these two countries. Not only cultural, linguistic too. Of brisk commercial intercourse between Persia and India there is ample literary evidence. According to some, the term *yavana*, found in Sanskrit works, might refer to Persians. They think that *Yavanikā*, used in Sanskrit dramas, was so called because it was made of Persian tapestries.

The language of the Veda, the earliest sacred treatise of the Indian Aryans, is closely similar to that of the *Avesta*, the most ancient sacred work of those of Persia. Old Persian also reveals remarkable similarities with Sanskrit. Two parallelisms¹ are shown below.

1. Taken from Taraporewala, *Elements of the Science of Language*, pp 315-317 (3rd. ed.).

Avesta Text (Yasna IX)

hāvanim ā ratūm ā
Haomo Upāit Zaraθustrēm,
Ātrēm pairi-yaozdaθəntəm
Gəθās-ca srāvayntəm.

Sanskrit version

Savanim ā rtum ā
Soma Upait jarathuṣṭram
*atrim * pari-thos-dadhantam*
gāthāśca (api ?) śrāvayantam//
 [* Coined word]

Old Persian

Baga vazarka Auramazda, hya imām bhūmim adā,
hya avam asmānam adā, hya martiyam adā etc.

Sanskrit

bhagah bujurgah (=modern Irani buzurg)
ahuramajdah,
vah imām bhūmim adhāt, yah avam asmānam adhāt,
yah martyam adhāt etc.

Thus, we find that there were manifold contacts between these two lands. Persia not only borrowed aspects of Indian culture, and assimilated them to its own. It also served as the gateway for Indian wisdom to pass over to the West, ultimately merging itself into the vast ocean of Western culture. We shall briefly dwell on the rôle played by Persia in

this respect in so far as we can gather from the history of Sanskrit literature.

The *Kalila Wa Dimna* was translated into Persian by Abul Fazl of Akbar's court, under the title *Ayar-i-Danish*. According to Abdul Maali, it consisted of sixteen chapters, ten having been of Indian origin and six added by Iranians.

In the sixth century, a physician, named Burzoe, translated the *Pañcatantra* into Pahlavi under the patronage of Chosroes Anushirwan (531-79 A.D.); it bore the title *Kalila wa Dimna* (Karāṭaka and Damanaka). The Pahlavi version was rendered into Syriac in the same century. The Arabic version of the Pahlavi version of this work was rendered into Persian by Nizamuddin under Bahram Shah of Ghazna (1153-65 A. D.).

Though produced in India by Fayzi, a court-poet of Akbar, yet the Persian poem, called *Nal U Daman*¹ (1002 A. H. = 1593 A. D.), based on the Nala-Damayanti episode of the *Mahābhārata*, occupies a prominent place in the history of Persian literature.

One of the deities of the Persian pantheon is Vaivasvata Manu. Considerable influence of the *Manu-smṛti* is discernible in the life of the Iranians. We are informed that, for the administration of the empire under Darius (6th. 5th cent. B. C.), laws were framed in accordance with Manu's work.

1. See Z. A. Desai, The story of Nalu-Damayanti as told by Faiḍi and its comparison with the original Sanskrit form, *Jour. of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, viii, 1958.

Through the followers of Zoroaster the worship of Manu and the study of his Dharmaśāstra were introduced into West Asia and the occidental countries.¹

The *Bhagavadgītā* was translated into Persian by Abul Fazl, referred to above, under Akbar. Under the patronage of this Emperor, the *Atharvaveda* was rendered (983 A. H.) into Persian by Mulla Ibrahimī, Fayzi and Badauni. The same court produced a Persian version (909 A. H.) of the *Mahābhārata* by Naquib Khan, Badauni, Mulla Shi'ri and Fayzi with the assistance of a group of selected Pandits. A group of Muslim scholars under Akbar produced a Persian version, called *Razm Nāmāh*, of the *Mahābhārata*. Naquib Khan, Badauni and Haji Sultan translated (999 A. H.) the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Persian. This version was the basis of a versified form, produced later by Sa'dullah of Panipath. The mathematical work, *Līlāvati*, was rendered into Persian by the aforesaid Fayzi. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was translated into Persian by Naquib Khan and others. The *Harivaṃśa* was rendered into Persian under Akbar by Mulla Shiri. The Sanskrit *Vikrama-carita* or *Simhasana-dvātriṃśikā* was translated into Persian in 1574 A. D. by order of Akbar ; of it a Mongolian version is known. The *Śukasaptati* was translated into Persian under the title *Tutināmeh*.

In 850 A. D. the Persian physician, Ali ibn

1. See K. Motwani : *Manu Dharmaśāstra*, p. 256.

Rabbun of Tabari wrote the treatise, entitled *Firdaus Ul hikmat* which includes detailed information about Indian medicine.

Like Persia Arabia also came into contact with India quite early through commerce and cultural exchange. India's contact with the West dates back to about the third millennium B. C. Arabia stood as the gateway of India's trade and the exchange of cultural ideas with the Hellenistic world. Arabia, directly and through Persia, imbibed many Indian ideas and learning and helped the diffusion of the same in the West. Spain, which was conquered by Arabia, served as a great medium through which Indian culture and literature spread to the Occident. India and Arabia came so close to each other that many Indians visited Arabia, and settled there permanently. Likewise, many Arabs settled in India. The Arab conquest of Sind (712 A. D.) and some neighbouring areas was the culmination of Arabian onslaughts on India which began as early as the middle of the seventh century. The famous Arabian traveller, Al-Biruni (973-1048 A. D.), who visited India, left an illuminating account of the contemporary society and culture of this country.

In the eighth century, one, Abdalla-Ibn-al Muqaffa, translated the Pahlavi version of the *Poŋcatantra* into Arabic.¹ About the same time, the

1. A list of Indian works, translated into Arabic, is given in the *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm Warrāq. It was written in 988 A. D.

Caliph of Baghdad got the Āyurvedic treatises of Caraka and Suśruta translated into Arabic. When Sind was under the rule of Caliph Mansur (753-774 A. D.), some Indian scholars took over to Baghdad the astronomical works *Brahma-siddhānta* and *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta with themselves. These works were rendered into Arabic by Alfazari and probably also by Yakub Ibn Tarik. The works of Āryabhaṭa were also translated or adapted by the Arabs. It was through these works that the Arabs, for the first time, became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy.

There was a great influx of Indian learning into Baghdad under Harun (786-803 A. D.). During this period, Indian scholars were engaged in translating, into Arabic, Sanskrit works on medical science, viz. those of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa, philosophy, astrology and other subjects. Arabian Sufism reveals the impact of Vedānta philosophy.

Many Arab authors worked out Indian subjects in original compositions, commentaries and extracts. The account, left by the aforesaid Albiruni, presupposes the author's familiarity with several branches of Sanskrit learning. He was, perhaps, the first man to introduce the *Bhagavadgītā* into the world of Muslim readers. He translated into Arabic a Sanskrit work on loathsome diseases. Assisted by Indian scholars, he tried to translate the astronomical works of Brahmagupta and also the *Pulisa-siddhānta*. He translated also the Sāṃkhya of Kapila and the book of Patañjali on

philosophy. Al-Biruni translated also the *Sūryasi-ddhānta* of Varāhamihira.

The Arabic system of atomism, propounded by Al Razi (865-925 A. D.) and Al Ashau appears to have been deeply influenced by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system.

Al Kindi wrote, in the ninth century, a short tract on Indian computation, called *Hisabul Hindi*.

We are told by Amir Khusrav that the Arab astronomer, Abu Mashar, studied astronomy at Benares for ten years. Al-Khawārizmi (850 A. D.) based his well-known astronomical tables (*Zij*) on the aforesaid translation by Al-Fazari. Al-Battani (877-918) adopted the use of ratios, sine and tangent from Āryabhaṭṭa's geometry. It was at one time thought that the credit of inventing the decimal system of numerals belonged to the Arabs. But, this impression has been proved to be erroneous. As a matter of fact, the Muslim world appears to have learnt it either through traders frequenting the west coast of India or from the Arabs who conquered Sind in 712 A. D. It is interesting to note that the Arabs appeared to have acknowledged their debt to India in the field of mathematics which they described as *hindisat* (Indian art). Al-Khawārizmi was the first Arabian scholar to introduce numerals, including zero, instead of letters. This scholar used Indian sources, among others, in his work on algebra called *Book of Calculation of Restoration and Reduction*. It appears that the Arabs learnt many things of Indian

Chemistry and transmitted the same to Europe in the middle ages.

The book of Sindabad and the *Arabian Nights* are believed to owe their origin, at least partly, to India. The Arabian writer, Masudi (d. 956 A. D.) says that the *Kitab-es-Sindbad* was derived from an Indian work. The introduction to the *Sindbad* is very similar to that of the *Pāncatantra*. Though the Indian origin of the *Arabian Nights* is doubted by some scholars, yet it seems certain that the book reveals marked Indian influence.

The Sanskrit medical works of Caraka and Suśruta have been quoted as authoritative by the noted Arabian physican, Al Razi (d. 932 A. D.). The Latin translations of the Arab writers, Avicenna, Rhazas and Serapion frequently mention Caraka. Avicenna drew copiously on Indian sources in the great work on general clinical medicine, *Al Hawi*, which was translated into Latin and remained a standard work in Europe till the 17th. century. The works of Caraka, Suśruta, the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, the *Nidāna* and the *Siddhayoga* were translated into Arabic.

The well-known Barmaki family appears to have played a great rôle in introducing medical pharmacological and toxicological texts in Sanskrit which were translated into Arabic. al-Razi or Rhazes included Indian medical knowledge in his voluminous treatise known to Europe under the title *Liber Continens* (*Kitab al-hawi*).

The alchemical ideas of India and Arabia reveal points of similarity. In this case, the latter may have been the borrower. This assumption gains some support, though not conclusive, in the fact that a renowned alchemist of Tamilnadu, Rāmadevar, states that he visited Arabia, assumed the name Yakub and taught alchemy there. Arab toxicology appears to have been influenced by Indian ideas, particularly by Caraka.

Sufism reveals some striking parallelisms with Vedāntic thought. The term Sufism appears to have come into vogue in the second half of the eighth century. The followers of this school are believed to have drawn inspiration from wandering Indian ascetics. Among the remarkable similarities between Sufism and Vedānta may be pointed out the following. The Aizūdiya form of Sufism believes that the Supreme Being is manifested in all things, and that the individual and universal souls exist in an undifferentiated state. These ideas resemble Śaṅkara's Vedāntic view. The Suhūdiva school of Sufism believes that everything emanates from the Supreme Being. This view is similar to Rāmaṇuja's Viśiṣṭadvaita concept. Bhāgavatism is believed to be a formative factor of Sufism. The essential identity of Sufism and Vedānta was pointed out by emperor Jahangir.¹

Islam, as found in India, was, to a great extent, influenced by Hindu ideas. In this respect, the Shias

1 See Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 356.

stand closer to Hinduism than the Sunnis. The tenets of the Khoja sect are a curious medley of Vaiṣṇava and Shia doctrines. The followers of this sect regard Ali as the tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The Arabs of the Abbasid period, particularly under Al-Mansur and Al-Rashid, had a deep regard for Indian learning. It was during this period that India and Baghdad came into close cultural contact. An Arab author from Spain mentions a book on Indian music and melodies. Some technical terms of Arab music owe their origin to Indian music.

The influence of Indian music on the Arabs is likely in view of the fact that the Arab writer, Jahiz, speaks of the popularity of the former in the Abbasid court. He speaks also of an Indian instrument.

In this connexion, it is interesting to note a few Indian concepts which found their way into the Semitic world. The flood-legend, cosmogonic myths, the earth and corn myths, matrilocal religion, myths and legends about the mystery of creation, life, death, child-birth etc. as well as those concerning theogony and apotheosis etc. infiltrated into West Asia, and were adopted with suitable modifications to fit in with monotheism. The myth of Harut and Marut, found in Muslim literature, has striking similarities with the *Mahābhārata* story of Sunda and Upasunda.

The following lines from Yaqubi (d. 897 A. D.) will give us an idea of the admiration of the Arabs for the Indians. "The Indians are men of science

and thought. They surpass all other people in every science ; their judgment on astronomical problems is the best...In the science of medicine, their ideas are highly advanced. And a large number of books which deal with their principles.....And they have a large number of other books which are too many to be mentioned."¹

With the decline and downfall of the Abbasid régime about the middle of the ninth century, these cultural ties were snapped.

PART TWO
OCCIDENT

INTRODUCTION

William Jones, the renowned British Orientalist, paid a glowing tribute to Sanskrit language by characterising it as more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin and more exquisitely refined than either.

England is not the only western country with which India was linked through trade and commerce centuries ago. We shall see that various other European countries as well as America had contacts with our land. As early as the latter half of the first century, a Greek sailor visited India by a route along the coasts of the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea. His account, called *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, bears testimony to brisk trade between India and the western countries. We are told that Indian ships carried commodities consisting, *inter alia*, of pearls, precious stones, spices, unguents, muslins etc. which found good markets in western countries. It is also stated that Indians settled in some islands of the Arabian Sea for commercial purposes. Indian merchants established a colony in the island of Socotra.

Pliny, a later writer, testifies to the fact that Rome used to pay a huge amount of Roman money to India for the purchase of articles of luxury. The discovery of Roman coins in India appears to confirm this statement. There is evidence of Indian missions having been sent to Rome. About

26 B. C. the king of Paṇḍya sent a mission to the Roman Emperor, Augustus. Indian trade with Rome and other western countries was routed through the port of Alexandria. Both sea and land routes were used for the purpose, the latter extending from India to the Mediterranean coast having been more widely used in the wake of the invasion of Alexander. The land-route passed through Persia, and along the coast of the Caspian Sea, ran up to Syria and Asia Minor. Palmyra in Syria was an important centre of trade.

Commercial relations were followed by cultural ones as in the case of Asiatic countries. Aśoka sent Buddhist missionaries not only to Asiatic countries but also to various lands in south-eastern Europe. Gradually the western countries acquired knowledge about Indian philosophy and literature. There was, perhaps, a process of give and take in the realm of cultural subjects between the west and India.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese founded the first trading centres and settlements in India. Then came the Dutch, British, Danes and French. The eighteenth century saw a number of European 'factories' in this country. Gradually, with the decline and downfall of the Mughal Empire, the European settlers got more involved in local politics. Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, the British East India Company removed all the other European rivals from the political arena, and established undisputed sway.

The rôle of the European and American missionaries in establishing cultural links between India and the western countries was also very important. Into the complex cultural texture of the west was woven another thread supplied by the Romanies. Popularly called Gypsies, they were nomadic people who loved life and nature and prized liberty highly. They were very fond of music, dance and story-telling. Their original habitat is not precisely known. But, they are supposed to have migrated from India. The main reasons, underlying the conjecture, are as follows. Their language contains quite a number of Sanskrit or Sanskritic words. Many Indian stories are current among them. Besides, there are survivals of some Indian customs among them. They take to the professions prescribed by Manu for outcastes. Why people left their hearths and homes is a matter of conjecture. When they did so is not precisely known. It is, however, generally believed that they appeared in Europe about the first quarter of the fifth century A.D.

The Gypsies spread almost all over the world, European countries having been their most favourite resorts. In course of their wandering, they appear to have picked up elements from various languages and from the manners and customs of different lands.

From an account of the impact of Sanskrit Literature on the west we cannot omit a mention of the many western scholars who, attracted by the richness of the language and the literature

written in it, made it the mission of their lives to study the various aspects of it and produce valuable works.

The impact of the westerners, particularly the British, first as merchants and then as rulers opened up new vistas in Sanskrit studies which are even to-day being pursued in different countries with avidity and devotion.

The tremendous influence of Sanskrit in the west and the zealous response of western savants will be clear by a glance over the contributions made by the latter to various aspects of Sanskrit language and literature given in an Appendix to this work.

They appear to have been one of the media through which there was a diffusion of Indian thoughts and ideas among the alien people. This seems to be particularly true in the case of folk-tales and elements of music.

It is interesting to note that, of all the Sanskrit works, the *Pañcatantra* exercised the widest influence. From the eleventh century onward it has been translated or adapted into various European languages. Of its tremendous popularity the most convincing proof is that, throughout the world, more than 200 versions exist in over 50 languages. As we shall see, it wielded influence on the tales and fables of many countries, eastern and western. Some scholars are inclined to the view that, while India was the homeland of folk-tale, she borrowed beast fable from Greece. But the

existence of fables in such Upaniṣads as are Pre-Homeric renders India's borrowing implausible. The popular narrative works of western literature contain traces of Indian fables and tales. Of such works, mention may be made of the *Gesta Romanorum* and similar collections of monks' tales in Latin, the French fabliaux, the works of the renowned story-tellers like Boccaccio and Straparola in Italy, of Chaucer in England, La Fontaine in France and the German *Household Tales* collected by Grimm brothers. The *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati* has substantially contributed to the narrative literature of the world. The *Śuka-saptati*, through its Persian and Turkish renderings, exercised considerable influence on the literature of the west. The deep and wide impact of these works on world literature led Benfey to declare that India had been the home of all fairy tales and stories. It may be an exaggerated statement due to exuberance of enthusiasm. Nevertheless the fact remains that quite a number of stories, current in the world, can be traced to Indian sources.

In mathematics, it is most probable that the system of writing numerical figures, in vogue in the whole of the civilised world, was of Indian origin. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Indians taught the Arabs arithmetic and algebra. Through the Arabs this knowledge passed to the west. By the thirteenth century the Indian decimal place-value notation was established in Europe and, in course of time, spread to the other parts of the globe.

According to some western scholars, Pythagorean geometry was, to some extent, indebted to Hindu ideas. The binomial theorem, for positive integral exponents, discovered in Europe in the 16th. century, may have been learnt from India.

So far as numbers are concerned, the highest terminology of the Greeks about the 4th. century B. C., was *myriad* (10^4) and of the Romans *mille* or thousand. The *Yejurveda* gives the highest number as *parārdha* (10^{12}). In the classical period of Sanskrit, it was up to 10^{24} and even 10^{53} . The idea about such high numbers probably found its way from India to Europe and thence to India for the conception. The world is, perhaps, indebted to India for the conception of zero also.

A word of the terminology of medieval European astronomy is *aux* denoting the highest point of a planet's orbit. It is believed to have been borrowed from Sanskrit *Ucca* through Arabic.

Christianity, the major religion of the west, has many affinities with the Brahmanical religious and philosophical ideas enshrined in the Sanskrit works. A few instances may be mentioned here. The mode of spiritual ascent, occurring in the Book of Enoch, substantially resembles the ascent of the soul, described in the *Kauṣitaki Upaniṣad* the qualities of God, mentioned in the same Book, occur in the Upaniṣads. Eschatological ideas of the Christians appear to have similarities with those of the early Aryans. The Christian concept of the Kingdom of God may owe its inspiration to Judaism,

but the origin of the idea is traced back to the prehistoric Aryan religion and the Veda contains the idea. The teachings of Jesus about self-control and asceticism have a parallel in Buddhism and in the Upaniṣads which were earlier still.

In the realm of astronomy, India appears to have influenced the west through the Arabs. The sciences of comparative philology and comparative mythology, which originated in the west in the nineteenth century, owe their genesis to the discovery of Sanskrit language and literature.

Before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A. D., the Jews made a united stand against them under the leadership of Eleazor. The arguments he advanced, particularly the clear distinction made between the immortal soul and the mortal body, remind one of the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavadgītā*. In fact, Eleazor himself acknowledged his debt to the Hindus. Josephus, who took a leading part in this war against the Romans, turned to "those Indians who profess the example of philosophy" for support in their action in that hour of peril.

The concept of Logos, similar to the Vedic *Vāk*, which denotes speech or word as the divine power, got into the Fourth Gospel.

When Herod learnt from the Magi, who came to pay their respects to the newly born Jesus, that a great king was born, he ordered that all newly born babies in Bethlehem should be slain. The story reminds one of king Kamsa's killing all the successive

children of his sister excepting the last one ; this he did because he was told that a child of his sister would kill him and would seize the throne. The account in the second chapter of *Matthew* has striking similarities with the birth-story of Kṛṣṇa. The worship of Jesus as the divine child is like that Kṛṣṇa.

The temptations of Jesus are, to a considerable extent, like those of Naciketas by Yama in the *Kaṭhapaniṣad*, dating back to several centuries B. C. The similarity of the incident with the temptations of Gautama Buddha by Māra also deserves notice.

While some of the above parallelisms between Hinduism and Christianity might be purely accidental, the influence of the former, in certain cases, cannot, perhaps, be ruled out. In this connexion, the tradition of Christ's visit to India is significant. The Gnostics, who influenced Christianity, themselves owed much of their inspiration to Indian ideas. Judaism and Hellenism, which were powerful factors contributing to the development of Christian ideas, did not teach the above principles which form a common ground between Christianity and Hinduism.

VI

GREECE AND ITALY

GREECE

There is much in common between the fables in Indian and Greek literatures. But, it is not possible to determine which country is the borrower. The story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, written in Greek by John of Damascus, who lived at the court of Caliph Almansur (753-774 A. D.), contains fables and parables most of which have been traced to Indian sources, chiefly Buddhist. To Greece belongs the credit of translating into Greek the Arabic version of the *Pāñcatantra* for the first time in western countries.

In the domain of novels, parallelisms between the novels of Greece and India are discernible. It may be that Greece borrowed some Indian motifs, though the Greek novel might not have been borrowed in toto from India.

Greek geometry was probably influenced by Indian *Śulvasūtras* of the Vedic age.

In the field of astronomy, parallelisms between Greece and ancient India are remarkable. It is, however, difficult to ascertain which country was the borrower.

As regards philosophy, there are numerous points of agreement between Indian and Greek systems. While some scholars explain this fact as

parallel developments, others would assert Indian influence. Garbe thinks that Sāṃkhya philosophy considerably moulded the philosophical ideas of Heraklitos, Empedokles, Anaxagoras, Demokritos and Epikuros. Some of the leading doctrines of the Eleatics, e. g. that the universe and god are identical, that everything existing in multiplicity has no existence in reality, that thinking and being are identical, are found in the Upaniṣads and Vedānta philosophy. The assumption of the influence of India on Greece in this field appears to be corroborated by the Greek tradition that Thales, Empedokles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and others travelled in oriental countries for studying philosophy. Winternitz and a few other scholars think that Pythagoras was influenced by the Sāṃkhya schools. Like Sāṃkhya philosophy Pythagoras believed in eternity and the indestructibility of matter. His theory of transmigration of soul may have been borrowed from Sanskrit Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads where it appeared for the first time. The quest of philosophers like Xenophanes, Parmenides etc. for One Reality behind the diversity of material phenomena is akin to the Upaniṣadic spirit. The Upaniṣadic idea is found also in the distinction between the phenomenal and the real made by the Eleatic school. Some of the ideas in Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries, in Empedocles, Pythagoras and Plato show considerable affinity with Upaniṣadic thought. All the above Greek philosophers recognise the doctrine of rebirth, fall from

an exalted state, the earthly existence as exile, the possibility of attaining the original state of purity and bliss by ascetic practices. The views of Pythagoras on the slaughter of animals, vegetarian diet etc. appear to point to Indian influence.

The declaration of Socrates that the soul is imperishable and unaffected by death seems to echo the Upaniṣadic idea of soul.

In the *Symposium*, Athanasia reminds one of the doctrine of *mokṣa* (liberation) in the Upaniṣads.

According to Radhakrishnan, the class structure, based on reason, spirit and appetite, reminds one of the caste- system in India.

The grades of consciousness, according to Plato, have remarkable similarities with the Upaniṣadic teaching.

In the realm of myth and fable, Greece appears to be indebted to India to a great extent. For instance, the myth of the Cosmic Egg, found in Greek, perhaps owes its origin, however remote, to the Vedic concept of *Brahmaṇḍa*. *Æsop's Fables* is believed to have been derived, at least to a considerable extent, from Sanskrit originals.

The *Syntipas* contains passages which appear to be adaptations of Sanskrit originals.

We do not know of the familiarity of the Greeks with Sanskrit literature on music. Aristotle's description of a lyre, however, answers to the Indian *ekatantri viṇā*. The Greeks came to know of the bow from the Persians. Persia, perhaps, got the idea from India with which she was in close cultural

contact and passed it on to Greece ; this is, however, pure conjecture. The seven-note scale and the three octaves of Indian music are similar to the Greek mode. The cycle of the fifth and the cycle of the fourth in Pythagoras' scheme of music are pointed out as corresponding to the *Ṣadja-pañcama* and *Ṣadja-madhyama* of Bharata. Since Pythagoras antedates Bharata, the latter's borrowing from the former has been suggested by some scholars. But having regard to the fact that a rather systematic scheme of music dates back to the Vedic period, which precedes Pythagoras, the borrowing may have been in another direction. Parallelisms between Pythagorean philosophy and Indian philosophy, as pointed out by us, appears to lend countenance to the theory of borrowing on the part of Greece. Winternitz is certain that the Gnostics and Neo-Platonic philosophies borrowed many ideas from Indian philosophy. The basic ideas of the Gnostics, viz. the knowledge of Gnosis or God, is similar to the *Jñānakāṇḍa* of Sanskrit scriptures.

- Plotinus (204 or 205-270 A. D.), believed to be the founder of Neo-Platonism, is stated to have studied the wisdom of the East. Resemblances of Neoplatonism with Vedānta and Yoga systems are noteworthy. Belief in rebirth, transmigration of soul, law of Karman, the existence of the One, release from bondage of rebirths as the goal of life, self-realisation through knowledge, meditation—these are some of the ideas common to Neoplatonism and the Upaniṣads, Vedānta and Yoga.

Garbe pointed out the similarity of the theory of Thales that water is the material cause of all things and the Vedic view of the primeval water as the origin of the universe. The *Manusmṛiti* also states water as the first of the created things.

The Greek theory of metempsychosis, occurring in some passages of Pindar, was perhaps borrowed from the Indians. With the doctrine of Karman, it forms the corner-stone of the philosophy of Plato.

In the domain of drama, Greece seems to have been influenced by Sanskrit literature. In the *Suppliant Women* of AEschylus, the first Greek dramatist, who flourished 500 years before Christ, we find a short pen-picture of a part of Indian life. This is no conclusive evidence. This knowledge of India may have been derived from sources other than literary ; of contact between the two countries in very ancient times there are evidences, as we have stated above.

The Greek scholar, D. Chrysostom (C. 80 B. C.) testifies to his familiarity with Indian *Mahakāvya*.

Indian medical science and surgery appear to have exercised considerable influence in Greece. In the *Hippocratic Collection On Breath*, the treatment of the pneumatic system is very similar to the Indian concept of *vāyu* or *prāṇa*. Plato's *Timæus* deals with pathology in the manner of the Āyurvedic doctrine of *tridoṣa*. Indian influence in Plato's time is vouched by the mention of Indian medicaments, in connexion with diseases of women. J. Filliozat informs us that there are some direct references,

in the *Hippocratic Collection*, to the borrowing of several Indian drugs and medical formulae by Greece.

In the field of physical concepts, Vaiśeṣika ideas about substance, five elements, motion, attributes, space, time and atomism appear to have influenced the leading Greek thinkers including Aristotle.

Apollonius of Tyana (C. 50 A. D.) is stated to have visited Taxila to study under Brāhmaṇa preceptors.

ITALY

We do not know precisely how and when Italy became interested in Indology. Links were, however, established, between Italy and India by merchants and missionaries. We learn of trade routes between India and Rome in the hoary past. Such ancient writers as Pliny, Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* testify to brisk import and export of different commodities between the Romans and the Indians.

Commercial contacts were followed by diplomatic relations which date back to the reign of Augustus (27 B. C.-14 A. D.). A silver dish, depicting Mother India sitting on an ivory legged chair, discovered at Lampascus, and an ivory figure of Lakṣmī, found at Pompeii, are mute witnesses to the close relation of the two lands.

Cultural contacts naturally took place in the wake of diplomatic ties and commercial intercourse.

As early as 234 A. D., a remarkable work, revealing Indian influence, was discovered in Rome. It was called *Katā' Pasōn Airéseo'n Elenchos* (Refutation of all the Heresies). Also known as *Philosophoumena*, it is attributed to Saint Hippolytus or, according to some, to a contemporary of his. It is a brief statement of the doctrines held by the Brahmanas of Tagabena (Tungabena or Tungabhadra) in the Deccan. With South India the relation of Rome was very close. Thanks to the researches of J. Filliozat, we learn that the above work contains many Upaniṣadic doctrines adhered to by the southern ascetics of the Deccan, living along the Tungabhadra. The influence of the following Upaniṣads is clear: *Aitareya* (I. 1-4; II. 1-4), *Chāndogya* (III. 1-37-8; VIII. 12-1-3), *Kaṭha* (II. 2-15), *Muṇḍaka* (II. 2-11), *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (III. 7-9, 14; III. 9-28, 7), *Taittiriya* (II. 5-1). Thus, it is evident that a good knowledge of Upaniṣads was acquired by the Romans at such a remote period of the third century A. D., if not earlier. Plotinus, flourishing about ten years later than the *Elenchos*, reveals a strong bias for Upaniṣadic doctrines. Bréhier, followed by Mauss and Przyluski, has shown the impact of Upaniṣadic thought, especially of Yoga, on the philosophy of Plotinus.

Delehayé has demonstrated the influence of Indian ideas on Christian saints, known as Stylites. So far as our knowledge goes, Gorresio was the pioneer of Indological studies in Italy. There are

Latin translations of some Sanskrit texts. But all such translations do not come from the hands of Italians.

The *Pañcatantra* was translated into Latin. The *Gesta Romanorum* and similar collections of monks' tales in Latin reveal indebtedness to Indian tales and fables. The same remark applies to the works of the story-tellers like Boccaccio and Straparola of Italy. In the thirteenth century, the *Āryabhaṭṭya* of Āyabhaṭa was translated into Latin in Italy. The story of 'Beauty and the Beast', in Madame de Villeneuve's *Contes Marines*, is supposed to be of Italian origin.

In the sixteenth century, an Italian, named Sassetti, came to places like Goa, Calicut etc. He did a lot to familiarise his countrymen with Sanskrit. This was, perhaps, the first attempt at the establishment of cultural links between India and the West.

In the realm of medical science, the Roman Celsus (C. 1st cent. A. D.) gives, in his medical works, an account of lithotomy as practised in India much earlier. Galen (131-201 A. D.) of Pergamum, who spent the major portion of his life in Rome, frankly admits his debt to India in respect of material relating to ointment for eyes and Indian plaster. The Roman medical men are known to have been in search of Indian herbals. The Latin translation, by Moses Farachi (C. 13th. cent.), of al-Rhazi's *Kitab al-hawi*, which incorporated Indian medical knowledge, became an authoritative treatise in Europe. Caraka is frequently mentioned in the

Latin translation of the Arabian writers, Avicenna, Rhazes and Serapion.

The work on the Hindu method of calculation, by the Arabian scholar, Al-Khwarizmi, was translated into Latin under the title, *De numero indico*.

There is nothing to prove that Italy knew of Sanskrit medical literature. But, some wall-paintings of Pompeii show a bow-harp having striking similarity with the Indian *vijā*.

Italy produced a number of fine Indologists of whom G. Tucci is the most eminent among the living ones. His studies are mainly related to Buddhism.

VII

BRITAIN, GERMANY AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

As we have seen in the introductory remarks, the relation between India and England had been the most intimate. The English people appeared on the Indian scene first as merchants and eventually as rulers. No wonder, therefore, that Sanskrit literature exercised the most profound influence on that country. A glance over the contributions of English scholars to the various fields of this literature will at once corroborate this statement.

Alexander Dow was the first European scholar to write a systematic account of Hinduism in his *A Dissertation etc.....of the Hindus* (1768). This work shows his close familiarity with Sanskrit learning. He drew the attention of scholars to the existence of a number of Sanskrit manuscripts.

An example of Indian influence on English writers in medieval times is furnished by Chaucer's (C. 1340-1400) *Canterbury Tales*. Some tales appear to be adaptations of Indian tales. Quite early the *Pañcatantra* was translated into English.

Stray parallelisms of Sanskrit and English works might have been coincidental, illustrating that great men think alike. For instance, the line 'All the world's a stage' is strikingly similar to

Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgyaśataka* (112). But, there are cases of similarities which cannot be explained as accidental.

The *Bhagavadgītā*, mainly through the English translation (1785) by Charles Wilkins, produced a tremendous impact on the poets and philosophers of the West, particularly of England and America, as we shall see hereafter. In the words of Coleridge, Hastings, the then Governor of Fort William in Bengal, believed that, in the *Gītā*, will be found "a proof of sublimity beyond the excellence of Milton in the true adoration of the Supreme Being." Matthew Arnold's 'disinterested endeavour' is a literal translation of *niṣkāma karma* of the *Gītā*.

The impact of Indology was so powerful in England that, as early as 1832, a Chair of Sanskrit was established at Oxford. Subsequently, similar Chairs were created at London, Cambridge and Edinburgh.

We shall now briefly deal with the influence of Sanskrit literature on the poets and writers of England.

Gibbon, Byron, G. Borrow, Shelley, Southey, Moore and Tennyson appear to have been attracted to Indian learning through William Jones' works relating to Indian thought. Shelley and Tennyson drew upon Jones' writings in *Queen Mab* and *Lockesley Hall* respectively.

William Blake's (1757-1827) idea that human life is a manifestation of eternal being is Upaniṣadic in tone. His belief that the soul is the sole reality,

the body a transient shadow, and that the human is divine, shows similarity with monistic ideas. His writings testify to his study of the *Gītā*. His stress on mysticism, particularly in his *Songs of Experience* and the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, is out of tune with English outlook, and is, perhaps, derived from Indian works. The influence of Sanskrit on Blake was but natural, because he wrote at a time when Europe was discovering the new horizon of Indian literature.

De Quincey (1785-1859) appears to have had some acquaintance with Sanskrit. In his *Confessions* he says that, in his dreams, he was ferretted by Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Wordsworth (1770-1850) may have been influenced by Sanskrit philosophy. Some passages of *Tintern Abbey* (1798) appear to reflect Vedāntic ideas. We quote a few lines below.

And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
of elevated thoughts.....

.....

A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things
And rolls through all things.

In his 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality', he reveals ideas similar to those found in Indian philosophy. For instance, the following lines hint at the transmigration and eternality of soul :—

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
The Soul— — — —

Hath elsewhere its setting.

.....

Hence in a season of calm weather
 Though inland far we be,
 Our Souls have sight of that immortal sea
 Which brought us hither.

The last stanza has a remarkable parallel in Kalidāsa's following immortal lines in the *Śakuntalā* :

*ramyāṇi vīkṣya madhurāṁśca niśamya śabdān
 paryutsukī bhavati yat sukhito' pi jantuḥ /
 tacetasā smarati nūnam abodhapūrvam
 bhāvasthirāṇi jananāntara-sauhṛdāni //*

"The fact that a person, though happy, becomes perturbed having seen beautiful objects and heard sweet sounds indicates that he certainly remembers unconsciously the pleasant things of another birth (the memory of) which remains (in the subconscious mind) as latent impressions."

Coleridge (1772-1832), a close associate of Wordsworth, appears to have shared the views of Wordsworth. His oriental inspiration is discernible in the several images in *Kublai Khan*, the love-song 'Lewti'. The presence of a divine spark in every one, self-consciousness as the basis of mental experience—such ideas of Coleridge echo the Vedāntic view. His awareness of Indian literature is attested by his letter to Thirwell, in which he refers to Viṣṇu afloat in an infinite ocean. The indirect influence of Indian thought on him was probable through Neoplatonism which bore the impress of Indian philosophy to some extent and

produced an impact on his mind. Coleridge is known to have read the *Bhagavadgītā* in translation.

Keats (1795-1821) shows some familiarity with it in the passage about the Indian mind in his *Endymion*.

Shelley (1792-1822), to whom we have referred already, appears to give eloquent expression to the Vedāntic doctrine of *Māyā* in his elegy, *Adonais*, dedicated to Keats. We quote a few typical lines :

The one remains, the many change and pass,
Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's Shadows
fly.

His conviction that *Adonais* is not dead, but has awakened from sleep, seems to have a Vedāntic ring. Like the Indian philosopher, who believes that, at the end of life's journey, one becomes united with the absolute, Shelley thinks that *Adonais* has become 'one with nature.' His *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* and *Hymn to Apollo* show remarkable similarity with Jones' *Hymn to Narāyan* and *Hymn to Sūrya* respectively.

William Jones is well known for his keen interest in Sanskrit language and literature. His translations of Sanskrit masterpieces earned him widespread admiration, and acquainted many western intellectuals with the hidden treasures of Sanskrit literature. His nine English hymns, addressed to the following Hindu deities, are a mute monument to his erudition in Sanskrit literature

and mythology : Kamadeva, Prakṛti (as Durgā and Bhavānī), Indra, Sūrya, Lakṣmī, Nārāyaṇa, Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā. These date back to the period between 1784 and 1788 A. D. Jones points out a linguistic affinity between the Sanskrit word Dīpaka, a name of Kāma, and its English equivalent Cupid. The hymn to Durgā reflects his intimate familiarity with Kalidāsa's *Kumārsambhava*. The last stanza of the hymn refers to the goddess's encounter with, and victory over, Mahiṣāsura, a Purāṇic legend. This hymn is complementary to that addressed to Bhavānī describing her benevolent aspect. The Indra hymn reflects his knowledge of the Purāṇic legend of the god's jubilation over the carrying away, by Viṣṇu in the guise of Jaganmohinī, of nectar from the demons. The hymn to Sūrya represents the Hindu idea of the Trinity—God as the creator, sustainer and destroyer, and of Sūrya symbolising it. It irresistibly reminds the reader of the Ṛgvedic hymns to Savitar and Sūrya. Jones' familiarity with Vedic literature is proved also by his English rendering of the Ṛgvedic hymn to Night. In the hymn to Lakṣmī, as in that to Bhavānī, the idea of Mother as the Ultimate power is poetically expressed. His reference to 'half human, half divine form being born when 'unnumbered woes' overcome man reminds one of the theory of incarnation set forth in the Gītā. Jones shows in it his familiarity with God's incarnation as Kṛṣṇa, his slaying of Kāṁsa, kindness to Sudāmā etc. In his hymn to Nārāyaṇa,

the last according to some in its artistic blend of sublimity of thought and beauty of form, he expresses certain prominent ideas of Hindu scriptures, e.g. the world as the visible manifestation of the Invisible One, the visible world as a reflection of Reality and not Reality itself, the transcendental nature of Ultimate Reality etc. It also delineates the manifold exploits of Nārāyaṇa, e.g. slaughter of demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, and refers to the various names or appellations of this deity.

The hymn to Sarasvatī describes her as a goddess of music and harmony presiding over human speech. In it the seven notes of Indian music and their different permutations and combinations are mentioned. His familiarity with Rāgas (melodies), particularly *Dīpaka-rāga* said to cause conflagration when sung, is obvious. The hymn to Gaṅgā is a romantic description of love, wanderings and final matrimonial union of her with Brahmaputra. Thus, the hymns reveal Jones' deep knowledge of ancient Indian philosophy and religion.

The mysticism of T. S. Eliot, A. Huxley, Auden etc, bears signs of Indian influence. Of them, Huxley appears to have been conversant with Indian religion and philosophy. His *Perennial Philosophy* betokens his familiarity with Indian, particularly Vedāntic, thought. He repeatedly stressed the universal value of good work. He has pointed out similarity between certain basic ideas of the *Gītā* and those of Christianity. Huxley

tells us that the doctrine of 'holy indifference' of St. Francis echoes, however faintly, the idea of desireless action advocated in the *Gītā*. Eliot's *The Waste Land* refers to a passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; he takes the threefold idea of 'give, control and sympathise', revealed by thunder and concludes with the words Śantiḥ, Śantiḥ, Śantiḥ in the manner of the *Upaniṣad*. Occasionally it refers to ideas of the *Upaniṣad*. His 'The Dry Salvages' refers to the *Gītā* and its teaching of action without expectation of anything. In its third section, it sums up the message of Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*.

Eliot himself tells us that he studied ancient Indian language, philosophy and poetry and that his own poetry shows the influence of Indian thought and sensibility (*Notes Towards Definition of Culture*, p. 113). In his essay on Dante he says that the *Gītā* is the next greatest philosophical poem to *Divine Comedy*. A critic aptly says that the unreal city of *The Waste Land* and the 'shadow' falling 'between the idea and the reality' in *The Hollow Men* are instances of the assimilation of Indian philosophy. His *Burnt Norton* contains passages testifying to Vedāntic influence (e.g. ll. 70-72). One passage in the *East Coker* (ll. 144-46) echoes the idea of the *Kenopaniṣad* that one who thinks that the Ultimate Reality is known does not know it, but who thinks that it is unknown knows it. A passage in his *Collected Plays* (p. 188), which reads as 'The one is alone' etc. reminds one

of the oft-quoted line *ekamevādvītyam* occurring in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.

His *Burnt Norton* sometimes shows ideas similar to those in the *Gītā*. For example, the line 'descending lower into the world of perpetual solitude, into internal darkness appears to echo the idea that the wise are awake when all others are asleep (II. 114-17).

Isherwood, Heard and Jung are some other prominent writers to be influenced by Hindu thought.

W. B. Yeats (1865-1939) and Russell, the Irish scholars, were profoundly influenced by the Upaniṣads. Yeats wrote a poem under the caption 'Meru'; Meru is the name of a mighty mountain at the centre of the world, according to Indian mythology. The mysticism of India, as also Indian classical literature, particularly the *Gītā*, influenced Yeats.

M. Taylor, in his *Tara* (p. 5), mentions Bhavānti in encounter with Maheśvara. Rama and Lakṣmaṇa are mentioned (*Ibid.* p. 23) as popular heroes. In his *Seeta* (p. 5) he refers to the delineation of natural beauty by Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. In the *Tara* (p. 531), he speaks of Vedic hymns and the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* owes much inspiration to Sanskrit poetry. In fact, it is based on the *Lalitavistara*, a celebrated Avadāna work.

F. W. Bain is another western author whose writings were deeply imbued with ideas obtained

from Sanskrit literature. His *Indian Stories* is an instance in point. His writings betray the vastness of design and the rambling style of such Sanskrit romances as the *Kadambari* of Baṇabhaṭṭa and the *Daśakumāra-carita* of Daṇḍin. Like Sanskrit works his stories commence with the invocation of gods, e.g. Śiva, Gaṇeśa. In salutations to these deities, he shows his knowledge of connected mythological accounts. In the manner of some Sanskrit works, he makes Lord Maheśvara relate the incidents in some stories, and Parvatī listens. In several stories, he illustrates the Brāhmaṇical doctrine of the inexorable nature of Karman, the retribution for sins committed in past lives. The concept of renunciation is also illustrated at places. Marriage beyond one's caste or rank has been shown to lead to dire consequences ; it is in keeping with the spirit of Hindu scriptures. The idea of re-incarnation also occurs in some stories. The Chinese box pattern of stories within stories has also been borrowed by the author from the above Sanskrit works with the difference that, unlike the models, his inset stories do not make the reader lose the main thread of the narrative. In some stories, the author himself is the narrator. The plan of one story, viz. *A Digit of the Moon*, is admittedly derived from the Sanskrit *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*.

The *Kāmasūtra* provided inspiration to writers like Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, D. H. Lawrence, and wielded a powerful influence on the intelligentsia of Europe.

Somerset Maugham's *Razor's Edge* is a clear rendering of *Kṣurasya dhārā* occurring in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. In this work, we find the author's intimate familiarity with the principal tenets of Hinduism. That Maugham was deeply impressed by Hinduism, particularly by the Upaniṣads, is evident from his observations in the *Writer's Notebook* for 1938.

To Indology the contribution of A. B. Keith is the most outstanding. His *History of Sanskrit Literature*, *Sanskrit Drama* in its origin and development, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, *Vedic Index* (jointly with Macdonell) are monuments to his deep erudition in Vedic and classical literatures in Sanskrit. Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature* was a sort of pioneer enterprise.

Monier Williams has been immortalised by his monumental Sanskrit-English and English-Sanskrit Dictionaries.

Wales was partly influenced by India. The Welsh story of *Llewellyn's Dog*, as occurring in Spencer's 'Bedd Gellert', appears to be an adaptation of the *Pañcatantra* story of a man who killed a good domestic mongoose in a fit of temper only to repent his rash action

GERMANY

No direct contact between India and Germany, in ancient or medieval times, either commercial

or political, is known. But, Germany's interest in Indian learning, chiefly through translations of Sanskrit texts, is admirable. The University of Bonn established a Chair of Sanskrit as early as 1818 A. D., about a quarter of a century before England founded the first Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford.

The name of Max Müller (1823-1900) stands out as a colossus testifying to German interest in, and devotion to, Sanskrit literature. In fact, it was due to his indefatigable work that to-day we can study the Vedic texts. The impact of Sanskrit on Germany, however, dates back to a period long before him.

The famous work, *Pañcatantra*, was rendered into German quite early. Some of the lyric poems of Heine (1797-1856) reveal Sanskrit inspiration.

In the realm of philosophy, Sanskrit works appear to have had laid German philosophers under great obligation. Schopenhauer (1788-1860) was so deeply impressed by the Upaniṣads through translation that he counted them among his teachers. He went further to declare that he lived for the Upaniṣads and would die for their sake. The pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann bears clear traces of Indian thought. The teachings of the Christian mystics, Eckhart and Tauler, were believed to have been influenced by the Ātman-Brahman doctrine of the Upaniṣads. The monistic ideas of Fichte (1762-1814) and Hegel (1770-1838) were very probably

inspired by the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the Single Reality. Some scholars have pointed out similarities between the philosophy of Kant (1712-1804) and certain ideas of Indian philosophy. His differentiation between the visible physical world and the unknowable beyond space and time is akin to the doctrine of *Māyā*. Schervatsky has pointed out that Kant's doctrine of categorical imperative has its counterpart in Hindu philosophy. Kant's *Aesthetics* may have drawn upon the works on Indian poetics. He was, perhaps, influenced by the Indian philosophical doctrine of transmigration of soul ; it agrees, in some respects, with his own idea about the fate of the soul after death. Fichte, in his German work, whose title means *Hints for a Blessed Life*, includes many passages which contain ideas akin to the Advaita doctrine of Vedānta. K. C. F. Krause (1781-1832) admired Vedānta philosophy in his *Vorlesungen über die....Wissenschaften* (1829). P. Deussen (1845-1919) not only translated the *Vedāntasūtras* and some Upaniṣadic texts, but also paid glowing tributes to Vedāntic thought. Despite his critical attitude towards Indian philosophy, Hegel frankly refers to Indian predecessors in his logic of contradictions known as dialectical movement. Nietzsche (1844-1900) was an admirer of the Upaniṣads. The *Manusmṛiti* was an important source of his inspiration in his philosophy of superman which, indeed, was his memorable contribution.

Hesse (Nobel Prize winner, 1946) was highly

impressed by the positive attitude to life in the *Bhagavadgītā*. Yoga and *māyā*, to a great extent, moulded his ideas in his German work whose title in English means *The Game of Glass Beads*. He sought to substitute the Upaniṣadic teaching *tat tvam asi* for Christ's Command 'love thy neighbour as thyself'. Ludwig Van Bethoven (1770-1827) appears to have translated and adapted passages of the Upaniṣads and the *Gītā*. To German literature, too, the contribution of Sanskrit is quite considerable. The three *Śatakas* of *Bhartṛhari*, showing the sequence of wisdom and self-denial, were admired by Hesse. Other noteworthy German writers, who drew upon Indian materials, are Dahlke, Much Winckler, Schaffer, Werfel, Zweig, Kasack, Meyrink and Thomas Mann. The last-mentioned writer (1875-1955) interpreted an Indian story from the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* in a novel way in *the Transposed Heads*, which is an English rendering of the German novelette, entitled *Die Vertauschten Kopfe*. In it he chooses a story from the popular tales, contained in the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati*, and presents a metaphysical dilemma through it. He transforms a moral story into an interesting novel depicting the birth of an accomplished young man out of the disintegration of an affluent Brahmin merchant family. German *Household Tales*, collected by Grimm Brothers, bear traces of Indian fables and tales. The famous Goethe, in the Prologue to his *Faust* (1797), appears to have followed Kalidāsa

in his Prologue to the *Śakuntalā*. The jester in the *Faust* reminds one of the *Vidūṣaka* in Sanskrit drama. The final Chorus in the second part of the work may have been partly inspired by Indian monism.

Modern German Indologists are avidly carrying on researches in various problems relating to Sanskrit language and literature. Chairs of Sanskrit exist in the Universities of Bonn, Tübingen, Munich, Göttingen, Marburg and Hamburg.

FRANCE

The French scholars became keenly interested in Indian learning in the beginning of the eighteenth century. From 1718 onwards the French of various walks of life began to collect manuscripts of Sanskrit texts which included the Vedic *Samhitās* and the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa. A scholar, named Pons, wrote a Sanskrit grammar in Latin on the lines of the well-known grammatical treatise, *Samkṣiptasāra*. He also translated the lexicon, *Amarakośa*, into Latin. Among the French scholars, the name Fauche¹ stands out as a translator of well-known Sanskrit works. Other French Indologists of eminence, not mentioned in the appendix to this book, are Paul Regnaud whose main work was on Sanskrit rhetoric and Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*,

1. See Appendix on contribution of Western scholars to Sanskrit.

Hauvette-Besnault, A Barth, and E. Senart. Of them, Barth is well known for his study of Indian religions in historical perspective. There were other less known French Indologists too. Féér translated many Sanskrit texts into French. Alber Foucher edited M. Pillai's French translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Victor Hugo (1802-1885) imitated an Upaniṣad in his poem, entitled *Suprématic* (1870). Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869), in his *Cours familier de Littérature* (1861), wrote on Sanskrit epics, drama and poetry. Joseph Mery (1798-1865), a well-known writer, appears to have deeply studied classical Sanskrit literature. P. Verlaine (1844-1896), who wrote the poem 'Savitri', evidently drew upon a well-known episode of the *Mahābhārata*.

In recent times, Louis Renou (d. 1966) did monumental work on Indology. He was particularly interested in Vedic studies. Some of his important works are a Vedic Bibliography, a Veda index, a study of Indo-Iranian mythology, a Sanskrit-French dictionary, a study of Pāṇini, a history of ancient Indian civilisation based on Sanskrit sources. J. Filliozat is another French Indologist of eminence. His most outstanding work is the *Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine* which is a learned study of the *Āyurveda*.

HOLLAND

The contact between Holland and India was at

first commercial. Gradually the Dutch began to take interest in Indian learning.

The Dutch preacher, Abraham Roger, published his *Open Door to Hidden Heathendom*¹ in 1651 A. D. Sanskrit studies in Holland were practically founded by H. Kern. Thereafter, Sanskrit was studied vigorously by eminent Dutch scholars. The first Chair of Sanskrit was established at the University of Leyden in 1865. At present, Chairs of Sanskrit exist also at Utrecht, Amsterdam and Groningen. Eminent Dutch Indologists are Speyer, Vogel, Gonda and Faddegon.

HUNGARY

The first Hungarian Orientalist to visit India in 1830 was Alexander Csoma de Körös. A noteworthy Indologist of this country was K. Fiolk who translated some Sanskrit classical works. Aurel Stein (1862-1943), a British citizen of Hungarian descent, led archaeological expeditions, and published accounts of the same. His contributions gave an impetus to Indological studies in the West.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It was through K. Prikryl (1718-1795), a Jesuit missionary, that this country became interested in Indology. Eminent Czech Indologists were J.

1. Dutch trs. of 200 verses from the *Nīti-* and *Valrāgya-śatakas* of Bhartṛham. First trs. into an European language of Skt. works.

Debrovski, J. Jungmann, A. Jungmann, A. Ludwig. The first of them drew attention of scholars to similarities between many Indian and Slav words. The second wrote on Indian prosody and metre. The third one wrote the first Sanskrit grammar in Czech.

RUMANIA

The Rumanian scholar, G. Coshbuc, translated *Śakuntalā* from a German version in 1897, and compiled a Sanskrit anthology. Hashdeu studied various problems of Sanskrit literature. C. Georgian was the first Rumanian scholar to make vigorous attempts to introduce the studies of Sanskrit there. Prominent among other Rumanian Indologists are Pogor, Burla, Anotonescu. The last-mentioned scholar worked on the philosophy of the Upaniṣads; it was a pioneer attempt in this direction in Rumania. Eminescu (1850-1889), the most eminent Rumanian poet, reveals intimate familiarity with Sanskrit. Besides translating Bopp's *Glossarium Sanskriticum* and a part of his Dictionary, he wrote several poems which are nothing but Rumanian versions of Sanskrit works. For example, in *Letter Number One*, he speaks of his vision of the origin of the world when there was neither the existent nor the non-existent. It reminds one of the Ṛgvedic Hymn of Creation. Both the title and content of his poem, *Tattvamasi*, reveal his familiarity with Upaniṣadic thought. It lays

down the unity of Ātman and Brahman. Among the erotic themes in his poetry, figures the Indian Kamadeva, the god of love.

RUSSIA

We do not know precisely when Russian scholars began to take interest in Sanskrit. Several Russian stories appear to be adaptations of Indian ones. For example, the story of *Schastie* and *Neschastie* (Good Luck and Bad Luck) has been found to be a modification of the story of Viravara in the *Hitopadeśa*. The first Russian translation of Sanskrit text (*Bhagavadgītā* in its translation by Wilkins) was published in 1787 A. D. The *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa is included by some scholars among the possible sources of inspiration to A. S. Pushkin (1799-1837), the famous Russian writer in his unfinished play, *The Mermaid*. Pave Yakovlevich Petrov translated into Russian the *Sītāharṇa* episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with a glossary and a grammatical analysis. To Russian school of Indology we owe the monumental St. Petersburg lexicon of Sanskrit (1852-75). Stcherbatsky (1886-1941) edited several Sanskrit texts for the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* Series. Other noted Russian Indologists are V. P. Vasilev (1818-1900) and V. P. Minayev (1840-1890), Korsch, Fortunator and Miller.

Tolstoy¹ (1828-1910) in his *Letter to a Hindu*, addressed to Gandhi (1909), quoted from the

1. On oriental influence on Tolstoy see A. Shifman, *Leo Tolstoy and the Orient*.

Upaniṣads and *Bhagavadgītā* ; thus his familiarity with Sanskrit literature is obvious.

Apart from remarkable kinship between Sanskrit and the Latvian language, the *Śakuntalā* has been staged in Latvia—these are evidences of Latvia's interest in Sanskrit.

It has recently been announced that P. Grintser's work, *Ancient Indian Epics*, will be published in the series *Studies of Oriental Mythology and Folklore* published in Russia.

In a recent book, entitled *Fasting for Health*, the author Yuri Nikolayev, a famous Soviet psychologist, acknowledges his indebtedness to *Āyurveda*. V. Kalyanov translated the *Mahabhārata* into Russian.

We may conclude this chapter by mentioning the following eminent Indologists belonging to different nationalities of Europe : Sten Konow and Mergensstjerne of Norway ; J. Carpentier and H. Smith of Sweden ; M. Dillon of Ireland ; Majewski, Lelewal, Boskowsk, Schayer of Poland Baunhofer, Leumann and Wackernagel of Switzerland ; A. Scharpé of Belgium.

In connexion with Indian influence on the west, we must mention the Theosophical Society. Theosophists of the West look upon India as the fountain-head of spiritual inspiration. Theosophy draws many ideas from the *Upaniṣads* and the philosophical systems of India. Typically Indian are the ideas about the one transcendental, eternal, omnipresent, all-sustaining, self-existent life, re-incarnation and liberation of the soul.

VIII

AMERICA

ASIOMERICA

The Maya civilisation of South America dates back to the seventh century B. C. or perhaps earlier. Besides the Indians, the Mayas were the first ancient people who had numerals including Zero. The common origin of the numerals in India and the land of Mayas has been suggested by some scholars ; we are, however, not yet in a position to ascertain which country was the borrower. There is a theory, put forward by R. Heine-Gelden and G. F. Ekholm, that the Asians migrated to America ; the cause of migration appears to have been the quest of gold. According to them, Asia exerted cultural influence on ancient America through the migrants who crossed the Pacific. In Maya art and architecture, there is marked Indian or Sanskrit influence. The lotus-motif, the *makara*-motif, the *kalpavṛkṣa*—all testify to Indian influence. The Brahmanical deity, Viṣṇu, is represented with his *gadā* (mace) and *cakra* (discus). Prototypes of the Indian Nagini of Kubera, Gaja and Nāga, found among the Mayas, reveal their familiarity with Sanskrit mythology. A kind of the Indian caste-system was in vogue among the Incas of Peru. Peruvians used to

worship an omnipotent and invisible Supreme Being. Peruvian poetical literature bears the impress of the two great Indian epics. The hymns of the Inca rulers of Peru show similarities with Vedic hymns. The American story of Yappan has marked similarities with the *Mahābhārata* story of Indra. The similarity between the Brahmanical Trinity (Brahma-Viṣṇu-Śiva) and the Mexican Trinity (Ho-Huizi Iopochtli-Tlaloc) has been pointed out by several scholars. A number of words of the Quichua languages have analogous Sanskrit forms.

In view of a number of parallelisms between India and the Maya land in fundamental concepts, mythology, iconography, architecture, religious beliefs and practices etc., it is difficult to believe that the Maya civilisation developed independently of extraneous influence. Evidences of Asian migration tend to prove that the Maya civilisation was developed as a result of contact with Asian peoples including the Indians.

U. S. A.

America came into direct contact with India through commerce at the close of the eighteenth century. Subsequently, missionary activities brought vast lands closer. Indian thought reverberated across the Pacific and American intelligentsia began to take interest in Indian learning. Later on, the impact of Indian culture and thought was felt in

America through the visits of Vivekananda, Ravindranath and other eminent Indians. The first American University to teach Indian subjects was at Yale where the study of Sanskrit commenced in 1814 A. D. Subsequently, Sanskrit came to be taught at several other Universities of which the most noteworthy are John Hopkins, Harvard and Pennsylvania. America produced a series of brilliant Indologists including Salisbury, Whitney, Lanman, Hopkins, Bloomfield, Edgerton, Ryder, Norman Brown and Ingalls.

The influence of Sanskrit made itself felt on many American writers and philosophers. Emerson (1803-1822), Thoreau (1817-1862) and some other New England writers zealously studied many of the religious works in Sanskrit through translation. They exercised profound influence on their contemporaries and later writers, the most noteworthy among whom is Walt Whitman (1819-1892). Monistic and idealistic philosophies of America in the nineteenth century appear to be indebted, to some extent, to Sanskrit philosophical works.

Many of Emerson's ideas seem to be echoes of Indian philosophical thought. Some of these ideas are as follows : all existing things are the manifestations of a universal spirit, transmigration of soul and transcendentalism. In his essay on Plato, he frankly admits his indebtedness to India ; he mentions particularly the *Vedas*, the *Bhagavadgita* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. He wrote a poem under the caption 'Brahma' which, according to

some, is a translation from Kalidāsa through a Latin rendering.

Thoreau came to be acquainted with Sanskrit books in the library of Emerson. His *Journal* of May 31, 1841, reveals the tremendous impact of the Laws of Manu, with Kullūka's gloss, on his mind. In one entry he speaks of the Vedas. In a letter to D. Ricketson, dated Dec. 25, 1855, he refers enthusiastically to the gift of books, relating to ancient Hindu literature, received from his friend, Cholmondeley. An entry in the *Journal* of Nov. 30, 1855, also refers to it. Of the various Indian books, the *Manusmṛti* appears, from references in his *Journal*, to have exerted the most profound influence on him. The *Bhagavadgītā* is to be mentioned next. Canby goes so far as to assert that it can be said to be one of the source-books of Thoreau. In his book, entitled *Week*, Thoreau devotes some passages to this work, and quotes a good number of its verses. His *Walden* also contains eulogistic passages about the *Gītā*. Through Wilson's translation, Thoreau became familiar with the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. He quotes some passages from the *Purāṇa* in an unpublished *Journal* and in his *Writings*. In the same work, he quotes some passages from the *Harivaṃśa*. In this book, again, he writes about the *Hitopadeśa*. A scholar has pointed out that some sentences of the *Hitopadeśa* resemble in style that of Thoreau. In his *Writings*, he refers to an incident of the *Śakuntalā* with which he became acquainted through Jones' translation. The same

work of Thoreau shows considerable impact on him, made by the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.

Whitman was a believer in Transcendentalism which was influenced by Indian philosophy. His writings reveal a knowledge of Indian texts, though he does not quote them. His interest in Hindu mysticism is evident in some of his later poems. In his *Passage to India*, he states that his soul is identical with the universal soul.

John Steinbeck's writings reveal a deep impact of ancient Indian philosophy. In his *To a God Unknown* and *The Grapes of Wrath* we find the Upaniṣadic concept of the divine and non-dualism. He regards Reality as twofold, empirical and ultimate. This is in accordance with Indian philosophy, and is revealed in his *The Pastures of Heaven*, *Tortilla Flat*, *Cannery Row* and *The Pearl*. His philosophy of non-attachment in the sense of freedom from addiction and not complete renunciation is also Indian in conception. The doctrine of *Māyā* (illusion) of Indian philosophy finds expression in his *Cannery Row*.

The Christian Science movement in America drew some inspiration from Vedānta. Like a Vedāntin, its sponsors thought that matter and suffering were unreal and the knowledge of this fact is indispensable for relief from misery.

APPENDIX I

MIGRATION OF STORY-MOTIFS AND LEGENDS FROM INDIA TO OTHER COUNTRIES¹

A comparative study of the narrative literature of India and that of some other countries reveals remarkable similarities.

While coincidence cannot be ruled out, some scholars go so far as to suggest a common source. However, in some cases, scholars are inclined to the view that India influenced those countries. A few such cases are stated below.

Kathāsarit-sāgara (References are to the *Ocean of Story* by Tawney, revised by Penzer).

Persons quarrelling over magic articles (I, p. 22)

—this motif is found in Grimm's Fairy Tales (trs. Paul, p. 370) with some variations. Wilson says (*Collected Essays*, II, p. 169 note) that the story, containing the motif, is almost verbatim in the Persian *Rahār-i-Dānish*, a purse being substituted for the rod.

The Mongolian form of the story occurs in *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 24. Another

1. On this question, see Przyluski, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, xxvii. 218 29 : Gaster in *Ocean of Story*, III, pp. ix ff.

form appears in the Swedish story in Thorpe's *Scandinavian Tales*.

An artifice, similar to that in Putraka's story (magic articles) is found in the folktales of many countries of the West and the East (I. p.p. 26 f.f.).

The entrapped suitors' motif, occurring in this work (I. Chap. IV), has many parallels in Asia and Europe. Penzer thinks that, it is an example of a migratory tale having its origin in the Indian work.

The eternal soul conception or the idea of putting one's soul in an extraneous object—

according to Penzer (I, p.p. 129 f.f.), it arose, in ancient times, among many peoples inhabiting different parts of the globe. But, the use of it as a story-motif owes its origin to India whence it spread to "other eastern countries and to nearly every part of Europe."

Story of Devasmita (I, p. 163)—the second part of it has many parallels in the stories of the East and the West, eg. *Gesta Romanorum* (The Old Woman and her Dog), Persian *Sindibād Nāmā*, Syriac *Sindban*, Greek *Syntipas* etc. It may be noted that the denouement of the story is much more moral in India than elsewhere ; the Indian woman is uncompromising in her chastity while the lady in the parallel versions sometimes yields to pressure and persuasion.

Penzer finds in it an excellent example of a migratory tale.

Of the influence of Sanskrit beyond India another example is the existence of a Mongolian version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*.

The R̥ṣyaśṛṅga legend is very famous in India. It occurs in the epics, Purāṇas and even in Buddhist Jātakas. It travelled far beyond India,¹ and occurs in different versions in Tibet, China and Japan. It is also believed to have left traces in the unicorn-legend of the West.²

There is a controversy among scholars³ as to whether or not there was a give-and-take relation between India and Greece in the domain of romance. While some scholars are inclined to think that India was the borrower, others would hold an opposite view. Weber⁴ and Peterson⁵ are the great figures who consider India to have been the borrower. But scholars like Lacôte believe that Greece was the borrower. To take an impartial view in the matter we must say that, in the

1. See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 401.

2. Cf. F. W. K. Müller in *Festschrift für Adolf Bastian* Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, Berlin, 1896, pp. 513-38.

3. See L. H. Gray, *Vāsavadattā* (Intro.) p. p. 35f.; Keith in *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1103, 1915; p. 784 f., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 365 f.; Winternitz in *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, III. p. 371 f.

4. In *Sitzunge berichte....Wissenschaften*. p. 917 and *Ind. Stu.*, XVIII, p. 456 f.

5. *Kādāmbarī* (Intro.), 2nd ed. Bombay, 1889, pp. 101-04.

romances of the two countries, there are parallel incidents, motifs and literary devices. But, mere similarities do not establish a case of borrowing on either side. These might be parallel developments. While similarities cannot be ignored, we should not lose sight of the many divergences between the romantic literatures of these two countries. Moreover, the elements of romance already existed in the Sanskrit *Kāvya* on which it drew freely. Thus, a theory of borrowing need not be postulated. Greek romance has a deep interest in the narrative while the Indian lacks it to a great extent. The Greek romance is naive and simple ; but Sanskrit romance is full of ornate elaboration in style and expression. In Greek romance we do not find rhetorical embellishments, alliterations, long compounds etc., but these cannot be compared with the Indian counterpart of which these are essential elements. One finds in Greek romance virtually nothing comparable to the ribald story such as we find in the *Dasakumāracarita*. We may conclude by saying that the mere fact of divergence does not preclude the possibility of borrowing by any side. But, in the present state of our knowledge, it is better to leave the question open than to make any assertion.

APPENDIX II
CONTRIBUTION OF EARLY OUTSTANDING WESTERN SCHOLARS TO
STUDIES IN SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE¹

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks.
Adelung, F (G)	1768-1843	<i>Versuch einer Literature der</i>	1830. A study in the literature of the Sanskrit

1. We have taken into account only those scholars who flourished from the early times down to the middle of the present century. Those born after 1900, are left out for the present purpose. The names of the scholars have been arranged alphabetically. The following abbreviations are used against the respective names :—

- A—American.
- D—Dutch.
- E—English.
- F—French.
- G—German.
- I—Italian.

G. Sen Gupta's *Videśīya Bhāratavidyā-pathik*, Calcutta, 1965 (in Bengali), contains useful information in this connexion. Also see K. C. Verma *Some Western Indologists and Indian Civilisation*, New Delhi, 1971.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Anquetil-Duperron (F)	1731-1805	<i>Sanskrit sprache</i>	language. It is a bibliography.
Aufrecht, T (G)	1822-1907	See Perron (1) <i>Catalogus Catalogorum</i> -3 Vols. (2) Edition of the complete text of the <i>Rgveda</i> . (3) Trs. of <i>Atharvaveda</i>	1891, 1896 and 1903. It contains an alphabetical list of all Sanskrit works and authors, based on available catalogues of MSS. 1861-63. With A. Weber in several volumes of whose <i>Indische Studien</i> it appeared from 1850 on wards. Incomplete.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Ballantyne. J. R. (E)	1813-64	(1) <i>Śaṅkhya Aphorisms of Kapila</i> (Eng. trs.). (2) <i>Nyāya-sūtra</i> , 2 pts. (3) <i>Vaiśeṣika-sūtra</i> (4) <i>Mahābhāṣya</i> (5) <i>Sāhitya-darpaṇa</i> (6) <i>Yoga-sūtra</i> (7) <i>Hindu Philosophy</i>	1852 1850-53 1851 1855 1851 1882 1879, 1881
Barthelemy, J (F)	1805-95	<i>Das Vedas</i>	1854.
Bartholome, W (Austrian)	1748-1806	(1) <i>Systema Brahmanicum</i>	Rome, 1798.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
		(2) <i>Amarasimha sen Dictionari Samascrada...cum versione Latine</i>	Rome, 1798.
		(3) <i>Reise nach Ostindien.</i> Besides the above, Bartholome wrote two Sanskrit grammars published at Rome in 1790 and 1804 respectively. These are in Tamil script, and based on the unpublished Sanskrit grammar of J. E.	

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Benfey, T (G)	1809-81	Hanxleden, German Jesuit Father.	
		(1) German trs. of the <i>Pāṇcatantra</i>	1859
		(2) <i>Handbook des Sanskrit Sprache</i>	Leipzig, 1852-54
		(3) <i>A Practical Grammar of Sanskrit Language</i>	London, 1868
		(4) <i>Vedica und Linguistica</i>	1880
		(5) <i>Vedica und Verwandtes</i>	1880
		(6) <i>A Skt.-Eng. Dictionary</i> with ref. to best editions of Skt. Authors.	London, 1866
		(7) Ed. and trs. of <i>Sāmaveda</i>	1848

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Bergaigne, A. H. J. (F)	1888-89	(8) <i>History of Sanskrit Philology.</i>	
		(1) <i>Bhāmīnī-vilāsa</i> (Ed. and Fr. Trs.)	1872
		(2) <i>La Religion Vedique</i> <i>d'après les hymns</i> <i>du R̥gveda.</i>	1878-83
		(3) <i>Nāgānanda</i> (Fr. trs.)	1879
		(4) <i>Śakuntalā</i> (Fr. trs.)	1884
		(5) <i>Les inscriptions</i> <i>Sanskrites du</i> <i>Cambodge.</i>	1882
		(6) <i>Manuel Pour</i> <i>etudier la langue</i> <i>Sanskrit.</i>	1884

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
(G) Böhrtlingk, O. (G)	1815-1904	(1) <i>Sanskrit Wörterbuch</i> (7 vols.)	
		(2) Ed. first chap. of <i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i> , with comm.	
and R. Roth (G)		(3) Whole of <i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i> with trs. and notes.	See under Roth, R. 1839
		(4) Hemacandra's <i>Abhidhānā-cintāmaṇi</i> (German version).	1887
		(Sanskrit-German dictionary, generally known as <i>St. Petersburg Lexicon</i>).	1848
			First part appeared in 1852, completed in 1875. Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences).

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Bopp, F (G)	1791-1867	(1) <i>Ueber das conjugations system der Sanskrit-sprache in Vergleichung mit jenen der griechischen late-inischen, persischen und germanischen sprache.</i>	Frankfurt, 1816. By this book he founded the new science of Comparative Philology. As an appendix to this book, he gave some episodes from the <i>Rāmāyana</i> and the <i>Mahābhārata</i> in metrical translation from the original text.
		(2) <i>Nalus, Carmen Sanskritum e Mahābhārata</i> , edidit, Latine vertit et adnotatationibus	London, 1819. A critical ed., with a Latin rendering, of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> story of Nala and

		illustrat.	Damayanti.
		<i>Glossarius Sanscritum</i>	Berolini, 1830, 1847
(3)		<i>Vergleichende</i>	
(4)		<i>Grammatik des</i>	
		<i>Sanskrit, Zen, Grie-</i>	
		<i>chischen, Latcinschen</i>	
		<i>etc. In 6 pts.</i>	1833-52
(5)		<i>Trs. of episodes of</i>	
		<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>	
		<i>Kauṭilya Studien</i>	1926, 1928
(1)	Breloer, B (G)	<i>Kathāsarit-sāgara</i>	1839-66
	Brockhaus,	(ed. and partly trs.)	
	H (D)	<i>Prabodha-candrodaya</i>	1834-35
(2)		(ed.)	
(1)	Buhler, G (G)	<i>Grundriss der in-</i>	Encyclopaedia of
		<i>doarischen philologie</i>	Indo-Aryan philology
		<i>und Altertumskunde</i>	and Archæology.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Bühler (cont.)		(2) <i>Indische Palaeographie.</i>	Planned by Bühler, and executed by a team. Had been appearing since 1896 (Strassburg). 21 vols, complete, 1920.
		(3) Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India.	Strassburg, 1869
		(4) <i>A Cat. of Sanskrit MSS. from Gujarat, Kutch, Sind and</i>	1833-52

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| (5) | <i>Indische Studien</i> | | |
| (6) | <i>Aphorisms on the Sacred Laws of the Hindus</i> by Āpastamba. | | |
| (7) | <i>Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha and Gautama, Baudhayana Dharma-sūtras</i> (Eng. trs. in 2 parts.) | | SBE. II and XIV. Oxford, 1879-82 |
| (8) | <i>On the Origin of the Indian Brāhmi Alphabet.</i> | | Strassburg, 1898 |
| (9) | <i>Trs. of Manusmṛti.</i> | | |
| (1) | <i>The Aindra School of Skt. Grammarians.</i> | 1840-82 | 1875 |
| (2) | <i>The Ordinances of</i> | | |
- Burnell,
A. C. (E)

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
		(3) <i>Manu</i> (Eng. trs.) <i>The Law of Partition and Succession from manuscript of Varada-rāja's Vyavahāra-nirṇaya.</i>	
		(4) <i>Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa</i> (ed.).	1873
		(5) <i>Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda</i> (ed.)	1876
Burnouf, E (F)	1801-52	<i>Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i> , 3 vols. (Text and Fr. trs. up to Skandha ix)	Paris, 1840, 44-47
Caland, W. (D)	1859-1932	(1) <i>Die altindischen Toten etc.</i>	Amsterdam, 1896
Chézy, A. L. de(F)	1773-1832	(2) <i>Indische forschungen</i> Fr. trs. of <i>Sakuntalā</i>	Breslau, 1907

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Colebrooke, H. T. (E)	1765-1837	(1830) and <i>Amaruśa-taka</i> (1831)	
		(1) <i>A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions.</i>	1797-98. Trs. of a composition, prepared by native scholars, on the law of succession and contract from the Indian law books. 4 vols. Calcutta, 1797-98.
		(2) Miscellaneous Essays	Madras, 1872. A German trs. pub in 1847.
		(3) Grammar of the Sanskrit language.	Calcutta, 1805.
		(4) <i>Hipopadeśa</i> , ed. with introductory	1804

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
		remarks.	
	(5)	<i>Amarakośa</i> , ed. with marginal trs.	Serampore, 1808.
	(6)	<i>Śataka-trayam</i> of Bhartṛhari	1804
	(7)	<i>Sāṃkhya-kārikā</i> of Īśvarakṛṣṇa (trs.)	1837
	(8)	Trs. of two treatises on Hindu law of inheritance.	Calcutta, 1810.
	(9)	Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from Skt. works of Brahmagupta and Bhaskara preceded by a dissertation on the state of	London, 1817

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Cunningham, A. (E)	1814-93	Science as known to Hindus.	
		<i>Ancient Geography of India</i> , Vol. I.	
Deussen, P (G)	1845-1919	(1) <i>Die Philosophie der Upaniṣads</i> .	1890
		(2) Trs. of 60 Upaniṣads	1897
		(3) <i>Das System Des Vedānta</i>	1883
Fauche, H (F)	1797-1869	French trs. of <i>Gita-govinda</i> (1850). <i>Śiśu-pālavadha</i> (1861), <i>Daśakumāra-carita</i> , <i>Mṛcchakaṭika</i> , <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> (1854-59) and parts of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> (1863),	

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Forster, H. P.		<i>Ravana-vadha</i> of Bhartṛhari. <i>Bhartṛhari et al Pantchachika de chaura</i> An Essay on the Principles of Sanskrit Grammar.	1892 Calcutta, 1810.
Forster, G (G)	1754-94	German trs. of William Jones' Eng. trs. of Kalidasa's <i>Śakuntalā</i> . <i>Lalitavistara</i> (Tibetan version with French trs.) Trs. of <i>Rveda</i> .	1791
Foucaux P. E. (F)	1811-94		
Geldner, K. F. (G)			
Gildemeister, J(G)	1852-1929	<i>Bibliothecae Sanskritae sive recensio librorum Sanskritorum</i> .	1847. About 230 edited texts are mentioned in it.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Goldstücker, T (G)	1821-72	(1) <i>Pāṇini-his place in Skt. Literature.</i>	London, 1851.
		(2) <i>Prabodha-candrodaya</i> (German trs.)	
Duperron :		See Perron.	
Eggeling, J. (G)	1842-1918	Trs. of <i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i> .	
Jaccoliot, L. (F)	1837-1890	(1) Translated many Vedic hymns.	
		(2) Trs. <i>Manusmṛti</i>	
		(3) <i>Mānava-kalpasūtra</i> (with comm. of Kumārila Svāmin)	London, 1861
		(4) <i>Jaimintya Nyāya-māla-vistara</i> , 5 vols.	London, 1872. Complete vols. in 1878.

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Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Goresio, C. G. (I)	1808-91	<i>Ramāyaṇa</i> (Ed. and trs. into Italian)	
Grassmann, H. G. (G)	1809-77	(1) <i>Wörterbuch zum R̥gveda</i> . 2 vols. (2) <i>Uebersetzung des R̥gveda</i> . Trs. of 100 songs of <i>Atharvaveda</i> . <i>Gentoo Code</i>	1867-77 1875
Grill, J. (G) :	1840-1918 (?)		
Halhed, N. B. (E)	1751-1830		1776. Eng. trs. of the Persian version of the <i>Vivādar̥ṇava-setu</i> , a compilation of Indian law of inheritance, family law, etc.
Hamilton, A (E)	1762-1824	(1) <i>Hitopadeśa</i> (ed.) (2) <i>A Treatise on Skt. Grammar</i> .	1811 1815

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Hanxleden, J. E. (G) (Came to India in 1699 and worked in Malabar from 1699 to 1732 A. D.) Hastings W. (E) 1732-1818		(3) <i>A key to Chronology of the Hindus.</i> <i>Grammatica Granthamia</i> seu Samscrdumica.	Cambridge, 1820. First Sanskrit Grammar written by a European. It was not printed, but was used by Bartholome (q.v.).
		<i>Vivadāṇava-setu</i>	A compilation, from Indian law-books, of important matters relating to law of inheritance, family law etc. made by a number of scholars at the instance of Hastings.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Hauer, J. N. (G)	1881-1962	(1) <i>Anfänge der yogapraxis.</i>	1922
		(2) <i>Yoga als Heilsweg.</i>	1932
Haug, M.H. (G)	1827-76	<i>Aitareya Brahmana</i> (Eng. trs.)	Reprinted, Allahabad, 1923.
Herder, J. G. (G)	1744-1803	(1) Critical analysis of Kalidasa's <i>Śakuntalā</i> .	1792. Free translation of some gnostic stanzas from Bhartṛhari, <i>Hitopadeśa</i> and <i>Bhagavadgītā</i> .
		(2) <i>Thoughts of some Brahmins.</i>	
Jones, W. (E)	1746-94	(1) Eng. trs. of <i>Śakuntalā</i>	1789
On W. Jones, see S. N. Mukherjee, Sir Wm. Jones, Cam-			

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
bridge Uni, Press, 1968. Also G. Cannon, Sir W. Jones's Indian Studies, JAOS, Vol. 91, No. 3, July-Sep., 1971.			
		(2) <i>R̥tu-saṁhāra</i> (ed.)	1792. First printed work in Skt.
		(3) <i>Institutes of Hindu Law</i> or the Ordinance of Manu.	Calcutta, 1794. Eng. trs. of the <i>Manu-smṛti</i> . A German trs. of the work appeared in 1797 in Weimar.
		(4) <i>Hitopadeśa</i> (trs.)	1791

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks.
Kuhn, F. F. A. (G)	1812-89	(5) Eng. trs. of the <i>Gitagovinda</i> .	1886-1912
		(1) <i>Mythological Studies</i> 2 vols.	
		(2) <i>Zur ältesten Geschichte der Indo-germanischen Völker</i> .	
Langlois, S. A. (F)	1788-1854	(1) <i>Harivamśa</i> (Fr. trs.)	1845 London, 1834.
		(2) <i>R̥gveda ou livre des Hymns</i> , traduit (Fr. trs. of <i>R̥gveda</i>).	1848-51
		(3) <i>Monumens littéraires de Inde</i> . <i>Indische Altertums-kunde</i> , 4 vols.	Paris, 1827. 1843-44. Last vol. published, 1862. It contains valuable in-
Lassen, C (Norwegian)	1800-76		

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Liebich, B (G)	1862-1939	<i>Studies in Pāṇini</i>	formation on various matters relating to Indian history, culture
Luders, H. (G)	1869-1943	<i>Die Vyāsasikṣā.</i> His major work on Vedic deity, Varuṇa, was incomplete when he died. L. Alsdorf has edited the M S. in two parts, Kiel, 1895.	g e o g r a p h y and economy from after the birth of Christ down to the advent of the Muslims.
Ludwig, A. (G)	1832-1911 or 1837-1912	<i>Trs. of Ṛgveda</i>	Pub. at Prague, 1876-88

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Ludwig, J. G. (G)	1792-1862	Trs. of Nala-Damay-anti story, <i>Pañcatantra</i> , etc.	
Max Müller, F. (G) [Founder of Comparative Religion and editor of the <i>Sacred Books of the East Series</i>]	1823-1900	(1) <i>R̥gveda</i> , with comm. of Sayana (ed.).	1849-73 (6 vols.).
		(2) <i>Hitopadeśa</i> (ed. and trs. into German).	Leipzig. 1844.
		(3) <i>Meghadūta</i> (ed. and trs. into German).	Konigsberg, 1847.
		(4) <i>R̥gveda-prātisākhya</i> (Text with German trs.).	Leipzig. 1859-69.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Meter, J. J. (G)	1870-1939	(5) <i>The Upaniṣads</i> (Eng. trs.)	SBE, vols. I and XV.
		(6) <i>A History of Ancient Skt. Literature.</i>	London, 1859.
		(7) <i>A Sanskrit Grammar.</i>	
		(8) <i>India—what can it teach us ?</i>	
		(9) <i>Āpastamba-sūtras</i> (Eng. trs.)	SBE, 1893.
		(10) <i>The Six Systems of Hindu philosophy.</i>	London, 1890.
		(11) <i>Three Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy.</i>	London, 1894.
		<i>Über das...Zu</i>	
		<i>Kauṭilya</i>	1927
		<i>Das altindisch Buch vom Welt-und Staats leben.</i>	•
			1926
Meyer (G)			

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Minayev. I. P.	1840-90	(1) <i>Declensions and Conjugations of Skt. Grammar.</i>	St. Petersburg. 1889.
		(2) <i>Sketches of important monuments of Skt. Literature.</i>	St. Petersburg. 1880. Republished, 1962.
		(3) <i>Indian Tales and Legends.</i>	DO, 1875.
Muir, J. (E)		<i>Original Skt. texts on origin and history of the people of India,</i> 4 Pts.	1858-63 (1st. ed.).
Müller, M.		See Max Müller.	
Perron, A.D.(F)	1731-1805	<i>Outpnekhat ou Theologia et philosophia.</i>	Paris, 1801-02. Latin trs. of the Persian version, made in the

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Peterson, P (E)	1846-99	(1) Vallabha's <i>Subhā-ṣiṭāvali</i> (ed.). (2) <i>Śaṁgadhara-pad-dhati</i> (anthology) ed. Part of <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> called <i>Staharaṇa</i> , with word-index, grammatical notes and Russian trs.	Dara Shukoh, brother of Aurangzeb, of 50 Upaniṣads. Bombay, 1886. Bombay, 1886.
Petrov, P. Y. (Russian)	1814-75		
Pischel, R.(G)	1849-1908	<i>Vedische Studien</i> (with Geldner).	1836. Vols. I-III 1889, 1892, 1901.
Regnier, A (F)	1804-84	(1) <i>R̥veda-prātisākhya</i> (ed. and trs.). (2) <i>Etudes sur L' idiome</i>	1857-59

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Roer, H. H. E. (G)	1805-66	<i>des Vedas et les originines de la language Sanscrite.</i>	1835.
		(1) <i>R̥gveda</i> (in part ed. and trs.).	Bib. Ind., 1848.
		(2) <i>Brhadāranyakopaniṣad</i> (ed. and trs.).	Bib. Ind., 1849-56.
		(3) <i>Chāndogyopaniṣad</i> (ed.).	Bib. Ind., 1849-50.
		(4) <i>Taittirīya and Aitareya Upaniṣads</i> (ed.).	Bib. Ind., 1849-50.
		(5) <i>Isa, Kena, Kaṭha, Prasna Muṇḍa Upaniṣads</i> (ed.).	Bib. Ind., 1849.

- (6) *Taittiriya, Aitareya, Svetasvatara, Kena, Isa, Katha, Prasna, Munḍa and Mandūkya* Upaniṣads (Eng. trs.). Bib. Ind., 1851-55.
- (7) *The Upaniṣads* (Eng. trs.). Bib. Ind., 1907.
- (8) *Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (Eng. trs.). Bib. Ind., 1908.
- Rogierius, A. (D) 1609-? In Dutch. Pub. 1651. The title means "Open door to the hidden heathendom." Dutch trs. of 200 verses from the *Nitiśataka* of Bhartṛhari. First trs., into a

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Rosen, A. F. (G)	1805-87	(1) <i>R̥gveda-sam̥hita</i> <i>Sanskrit et Latines</i>	European language, of Skt. works. Trs. into German and pub., Nuremberg, 1663. W. Caland edited and published it again in 1915.
		(2) <i>Corporis radicum Sanskritarum Prolusio.</i>	London, 1838 ed. of the first eighth of the R̥gveda.
Rost, R. (G)	1822-96	(3) <i>Radices Sanskritae</i> (1) Translation of the Indian sources of the ancient Burmese Laws	Berlin, 1926. Berlin, 1927.
			1850

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Roth, H. (G)	1610-68	(2) <i>A Des, Cat. of Palm-leaf Mss.</i> belonging to Imperial Library of St. Petersburg.	1852.
		His indological researches pub. in <i>Father Arthanasisum Kircher's China illustrata.</i>	Amsterdam, 1667.
Roth, R. (G)	1821-95	(1) <i>Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda.</i>	It is on the literature and history of the Veda. Jointly with Böhtlingk. Eng. trs., Calcutta, 1880.
		(2) <i>Nirukta of Yaska</i>	Göttingen, 1852.
		(3) <i>Sanskrit Wörterbuch</i> , 7 vols.	St. Petersburg, 1852-75.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Ruben, W.(G)			Jointly with W. D. Whitney, 1855-56.
Rückert, F.(G)	1788-1866	(4) <i>Atharvaveda</i> (ed.).	Ed. of <i>Nyāya-sūtras</i> . His German trs. of Nalopakhyaṇa, Maitropakhyaṇa, Sāvitrī-upākhyāṇa, Gītāgovinda, <i>Amarasataka</i> etc. Collected and pub. by H. V. Glasenapp in Leipzig, 1923.
Schlegel, F. (G)	1772-1829	<i>Über die sprache und weisheit der Indier</i> <i>der Eing Beitrag Zur Begründung der Altertumskunde.</i>	1808. By this work Schlegel became the founder of Indian philosophy in Germany. It contains

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Schmidt, R. (G)	1866-1939	(1) Trs. of <i>Gheraṇḍa-saṁhita</i> .	also translation of some passages from the <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> , <i>Manu-smṛiti</i> , the <i>Bhagavad-gītā</i> and from the <i>Śakuntalā</i> episode of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> . These were the first direct translations from Sanskrit into German.
		(2) Trs. of <i>Śukasaptati</i> .	
		(3) Trs. of the longer version of <i>Tantrā-khyāyika</i> .	
Schomerus, H. W. (G)	1879-1945	Der <i>Saiva Siddhānta</i>	1912

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Schlegel, A. W. V. (G)	1767-1845	(1) <i>Indische Bibilothek.</i>	First vol. appeared in 1823. It is a periodical founded and almost entirely written by this Schlegel.
Schrader, F. O. (G)	1876-1961	(2) First critical ed. of the <i>Bhagavad-gītā</i> with Latin trs. (3) <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> (Cr. ed.) (4) <i>Hitopadeśa.</i> <i>Intro. to Pañcatantra and the Ahirbudhnya saṁhitā.</i>	Bonn, 1823. 1829 Bonn, 1829-31.
Schroeder, L. (G)	1851-1920	(1) <i>Black Yajurveda</i> (Maitrayaṇī-saṁhita) 2 vols.	1881-86

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Schultz, T. (G)	1824-98	(2) <i>Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā</i> 4 vols. <i>Vedānta und Buddhismus.</i> German trs. of <i>Bhaṭṭikāvya</i> (1837), <i>Śiśupālavadha</i> (1843) and <i>Kirātārjunīya</i> (1845).	1900-10
Schultz, (G)	1805-92		
Simon, A.L.(F)	1788-1854	(1) <i>Harivaṃś'a</i> (Fr. trs.), (2) <i>Ṛgveda ou livre des Hymns. traduit</i> (Fr. trs. of the <i>Ṛgveda</i>).	London, 1834. 1848-51
		(3) <i>Monuments litteraires de Inde.</i>	Paris, 1827.
Srenzlér, A. F. (Swedish)	1807-87	(1) <i>Elementarbuch der Sanskrit Sprache.</i>	

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
		(2) <i>Raghuvamśa</i> (Text and Latin trs.).	
		(3) <i>Kumārasambhava</i> (Do).	
		(4) <i>Meghadūta</i> (Latin trs.).	
		(5) <i>Brahmavivarta-purāṇa</i> (Latin trs.).	
Strauss, O. (G)	1881-1940	<i>Indische philosophic.</i>	
Wackernagel, J. (G)	1853-1938	<i>Altindische Grammatik.</i>	
Walter, H. (G)		Trs. of <i>Haṭhayoga-pratīpikā</i> .	
Weber, A.(G)	1825-1901	(1) <i>Akademische Vorlesungen Über indische Literaturgeschichte.</i>	Berlin, 1852. It is the first attempt to write a complete history of Indian literature. An Eng.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
			trs. of it appeared in Trübner's Oriental Series.
(2)		<i>Indische Literatur- geschichte.</i>	1852. It discusses about 500 works on Indian literature.
(3)		<i>White Yajurveda.</i>	London and Berlin, 1852-59.
(4)		<i>Indische Studien (17 vols.).</i>	1850-85
(5)		<i>History of Indian Literature.</i>	1878
(6)		<i>Kerzeichnisse der Sanskrit and Prakrit Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek.</i>	Berlin, 1886.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Westergaard, N. L. (Danish)	1815-78	(7) Varahamihira's <i>Laghu-jātaka</i> , Ed. & trs. left incomplete. <i>Radices Linguae</i> Sanskrit.	1841
Whitney, W. D. (A)	1827-94	(1) <i>Atharvaveda-</i> <i>samhitā</i> (ed.). (2) <i>Atharvaveda-prā-</i> <i>tiśakhya</i> (ed. with comm. and trs.). (3) <i>Taittirīya Prati-</i> <i>śakhya</i> (ed. with comm. and trs.). (4) <i>Sanskrit Grammar</i> . (5) <i>The roots, verb-forms</i> <i>and Primary deriva-</i> <i>tives of Sanskrit</i> <i>language</i> .	Berlin, 1856. (with R. Roth.). JAOS, vol. 7, 1862. JAOS, vol. 9, Leipzig, 1879. Leipzig, 1885.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks.
		(6) <i>Sūrya-siddhānta</i> (ed. and trs.).	J A O S, vol. 6.
		(7) <i>Oriental and Linguistic Studies</i> , 2 vols.	1873, 1874
		(8) <i>Viṣṇupurāṇa</i> (ed.)	London, 1785, with an intro. by Warren Hastings, the then Governor General of F o r t William in Bengal. First Skt. book to be directly translated into an European language.
Wilkins, C.(E)	1750-1836	(1) <i>Bhagavadgītā</i> (Eng. trs.).	Bath. 1787.
		(2) <i>Hitopadeśa</i> (Eng. trs.)	
		(3) Śakuntala episode of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> .	1793

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Williams, M(E)	1819-99	(4) <i>Sanskrit Grammar.</i>	1808. For this book, Skt. type was used for the first time in Europe, a type which the author himself had made.
		(5) <i>Radicals of Sanskrit Language.</i>	1815
		(1) <i>An Elementary Grammar of the Skt. language.</i>	London, 1846.
		(2) <i>Śakuntalā</i> , ed. & trs.	1856 (1st. ed.)
		(3) <i>Vikramorvaśīya</i> , ed. and trs.	1849
		(4) <i>Nalopākhyāna</i> , ed. and trs.	1879
		(5) <i>Eng.-Skt. Dictionary.</i>	London, 1851.

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Wilson, H. H. (E)	1786-1860	(6) Skt.-Eng. Dictionary	Oxford, 1872.
		(7) Skt. Manual for composition.	London, 1862.
		(8) <i>A Practical Grammar of the Skt. language.</i>	
		(9) <i>Indian Wisdom.</i>	London, 1878.
		(10) <i>Hinduism.</i>	New York, 1877.
		(11) <i>Religious thought and life in ancient India.</i>	London, 1883.
		(1) <i>Meghadūta</i> , annotated text.	1813
		(2) <i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (First of its kind).	1819 (2nd. ed. 1832).
		(3) <i>Select specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus</i> , 2 vols.	1826-27
		(4) <i>Sāṃkhya-kārika.</i>	1837

Name of Scholar	Date	Work	Date of publication and remarks
Windischmann, F. H. H. (G) Winternitz, M. (G)	1811-61 1863-1937	(5) <i>Viṣṇu-purāṇa</i> (Eng. trs.).	1840 (Reprinted, Calcutta, 1961).
		(6) <i>Lectures on Religious and Philosophical Sys- tems of the Hindus.</i>	1840
		(7) <i>Rgveda</i> (Eng. trs. acc. to orthodox in- terpretation), 6 vols.	1850
Zimmer, H. (G) (Senior) Do (Junior)	1851-1910 1890-1943	(1) Wrote on Śaṃkara. <i>Geschichte der in- dischen literature</i> , In 3 vols. subsequently trs. into Eng. <i>Altindisches leben</i> (On life in Vedic India). <i>Hindu Medicine</i> .	Berlin, 1879. 1948.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Rāmāyaṇa in Siam

Among the Siamese, a section is known as Dai or Thai. Among the Dais, the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is current. They are familiar with the characters of the epic and with their deeds. The ruling dynasty of Siam is called *Mahācakrī*. Every king of this dynasty is called Rāma. The first king of this dynasty, which was founded in 1782 A. D., was named Rāma Fā Buddha yod Fā Cūḍāloka or Rāma I (1782-1809), the sixth was known as Vajrāyudha or Rāma VI (1910-1925).

The Old Siamese work, entitled *Nārāyaṇa Sippam*, contains legends about the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu who figures as the principal deity.

The popular Rāma-legend in Siam is known as *Rāma-kir* or *Rama-kien*.¹ It is an independent work not set within the framework of Vālmiki's work. In it there are many additions and alterations. The names of some characters of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* have been changed. For example, Sumitrā and Mandodarī have become Samudrajā and Mando respectively.

Greece and India

Greek fairy tales and fables are believed by some scholars to have been largely borrowed from Indian sources. Wagener takes Greece to be the borrower in this respect.²

Hertel is of opinion that the idea of using fables for instruction in politics is essentially Indian. He thinks that the best Greek fables are derived from India.

1. Eng. trs. pub. by Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, 2nd. ed., 1949.

2. *Les Apologues de l'Inde et les Apologues de la Grèce* (1854).

In Greek Märchen there are some old myths resembling Indian ones. In the tales of Herakles, Thorr and Indra such old mythology is found. While some find in it borrowing by Greece from India, others presume a common Indo-European source. Independent development is assumed by others. From Pausanias (X. 33. 9 ; c. f. Bloomfield, *JAOS*, xxxvi. 63 f. f.) we learn that even before 180 A. D., there was current the story of the snake which saved a child but was taken as its killer and was eventually killed. It has a close parallel in the famous story of the mongoose that saved a child from snake-bite but was taken by its father as its killer and was done to death. It remains in the form of Llewelyn and Gelert, a dog replacing the mongoose ; it enjoys wide popularity in Europe. Demokritos was aware of the story of the eagle that dropped a tortoise. It has a striking parallel in the Indian story of the swans dropping the same creature. The mice, which eat iron in the *Pañcatantra*, are known to Seneca and Herondas. The story of the ass in lion's skin is known both in Greece and India with slight difference. In the Greek version, the ass itself puts it on, but it is blown away by the wind. In the Indian counterpart, the skin is given by its owner to enable it to steal corn, but the ass is found out by its bray. The story of the disguised jackal, whose nature is betrayed by its cry, has a parallel in Phaedrus. Similar is the case with the ungrateful snake which bit its rescuer, the panther treating the goat as does the wolf the lamb in Phaedrus, the gods of Phaedrus wishing to drink up the stream and the crows which would drain the sea dry. The fox compelling the eagle to restore its young, known to Archilochos, has some parallelism with a *Pañcatantra* tale of a crow and a snake, though discrepancies are glaring. The story, in the Phaedrus, of a wolf helped by a crane, has some similarity with the tale of the lion and the woodpecker ; here also the differences cannot be ignored.

Androoles' grateful lion has a parallel in the grateful elephant of India. Milo's death reminds one of the foolish ape in the *Pañcatantra*. The Indian tale of an adulteress, clearing herself by a cleverly devised oath, may have been the source of Isolde's falsehood (J. J. Meyer, *Isolde's Goitesurteil*, p. p. 218 f. f.); the same idea, however, occurs in the oath of Ovid's Mestra (Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, p. 515). The tale of charadrios, a bird which bears jaundice to the sun, may have been borrowed from India. The idea of transferring diseases to birds etc. is found as early as the Veda. Keith thinks¹ that it might be an ancient Indo-European belief.

Attempts have been made to show that, in the Greek *Physiologos*, there is proof of Indian influence on the western legend of the unicorn or the source of Caesar's tale of the elks of the Black Forest, which, once fallen to the ground, cannot rise.

The legend of Rhampsinitos in Herodotos already appears in India before 300 A. D., and was perhaps borrowed from there.

The earliest version of the *Pañcatantra* in an European Language was that by the Greek Simeon, son of Seth.

The *Syntipas* contains stories originally occurring in the *Kitāb el Sindbād* to which an Indian origin is ascribed by the Arabian historian, Masūdi (d. 956).

Rohde and Weber point out similarity in the motif of the *Vāsavadattā* in a tale told by Athenaios on the authority of Charles of Mytilene, an officer of Alexander. This is the tale of Zariadres and Odatis. It contains motifs of lovers who see each other in a dream. They are united through the intervention of the maiden's marriage ceremony in which she has the right of choice. In Firdausi we find a princess of Rome seeing her lover in a dream and herself claiming him as her husband. So, it may be argued that,

1. Hist. of Skt. Lit. (1928), p. 356.

the above Greek story may have been borrowed from a Persian source. Keith seems to be right when he says that the choice of a husband by a princess in this way is a very ancient practice in India whence the motif in the Persian story may have come. In this case, chronological considerations need not stand in the way of Greece borrowing from India. Though Alexander flourished centuries earlier (4th. cent. B. C.) than the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu (7th. cent. A. D.), yet the *Vāsavadattā* legend may be presumed to have had a long tradition before it took shape in Subandhu's work.

Scholars differ in their opinion about Greece borrowing from Indian romance. F. Lacôte once thought¹ that the Indian *Guṇāḍhya* was influenced by Greece. But, subsequently he came to believe² that Greek romance was borrowed from India. Lacôte thinks that the *Kathā* form of narration, which originated in India, was borrowed by the Greek romance. It cannot, however, be proved, and Keith is against this assumption. One of his arguments is with regard to the transmission of Indian forms to Greece. He argues that popular transmission was not likely in view of the fact that no Greek could understand a Sanskrit romance. Even assuming the transmission of only the tales, the elaborate construction, which alone can establish the fact of borrowing, may easily be ruled out. Keith puts forward arguments to establish that there is no general agreement between Greek and Indian romances as regards form.

L. H. Gray (*Vāsavadattā*, p. p. 35 f. f.; G. N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. p. 258 f. f.), points out similarities between the romances of the two countries. Some of these are letters exchanged between lovers, protracted lamentation, threats of suicide, stories within

1. *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya*, p. p. 284-6.

2. *Mélanges Lévi*, p. p. 272 f. f. Keith, *JRAS*, 1915, p. p. 784 f. f.

stories, description of nature, detailed personal description, learned allusions and citations of precedents, strained compounds, alliterations and other figures of speech recalling Sanskrit *Anuprāsa* and *Yamaka*. But, he points out fundamental divergences between the two. In Sanskrit romance the matter is not of much consequence; the thread of the narrative or the adventures of characters do not figure prominently. Greater importance is attached to embellishment, description of nature, mental, moral and physical qualities. In the Greek romance, however, the main thing is the narration of adventures; fine writing, description and appreciation of nature are not given much importance.

Gray points out similarities in the methods adopted by the authors of the *Euphues* and of the *Vāsavadattā*. Both are concerned more with manner than with matter. The former, however, has a didactic motive which is missing in the latter. In the former, there is emboxing of stories so familiar in India. For example, the tale of Callimachus includes the story of the hermit Cassender. Both employ paronomasia, alliteration, learned allusions etc. These are supposed by some to have developed independently in both the countries.

Version of the *Pañcatantra*¹

The Arabic version of the *Pañcatantra*, by Moqaffa, was made about 750 A. D. Besides the traditional five stories, it contains others, the total number being twenty.² Some of these are taken from various sources; three from the

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1. Information about it is scattered in the body of the work; Here the information, along with some additional facts, has been presented at one place in view of the fact that the *Pañcatantra* is an important work which wielded tremendous influence on world-literature.
 2. See Keith, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.* (1928), p. 358.

Mbh. (Xiii. 138, 13 f. f., 139. 47 f. f. 111. 3 f. f.) one is Buddhist in Tibetan (c. f. A. Chiefner. *Bharatae Responsa* 1875, Zachariae *Kl. Schariften*, p. p. 49 f. f.). One is the tale of the man in the well (Nöldeke, *Burzöes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalila wa Dimna*, 1912) ; one of the lion and the jackal (probably Buddhist) ; one of grateful beasts and ungrateful men ; one of four friends (probably Buddhist) ; one of the mouse-king and his minister having an Indian spirit. The title of the Arabic version, *Kalila wa Dimna*, was obviously derived from Karataka and Damanaka, the two jackals figuring in the first book of the *Pañcatantra*.

About 570 A. D. the Pahlavi version of the *Pañcatantra* was rendered into Syriac by one Būd. It is preserved in a single imperfect manuscript. The Syriac version contains ten chapters. The Arabic version was rendered into Syriac in the tenth or eleventh century.

A translation of the Arabic version was made in 1142 or 1121 by Abu 'l-Maāli Naṣrallāh ibn Muhammed ibn' Abd al-Hamīd. It is important because it produced the Persian *Anwāri Suhaili* by Husain ibn 'Alī al-Wāiz between 1470 and 1505 ; it became the starting point of numerous translations into oriental languages.

The Persian *Tūtīnāmeḥ*, translation of the *Śukasaptati*, rejected part of the original as unsuitable and substituted other tales partly taken from the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*. Through the Persian version it travelled to western Europe. One of the tales became famous by Gottfried's *Tristan and Isolde*. It contains an account of the ordeal used to deceive by proving Isolde's innocence. The episode is old in India ; a Chinese version of it occurs in a fifth-century Chinese version of an Indian tale.

The Greek version of the *Pañcatantra* produced the Italian version of Giulio Nuti in 1583. It produced also two Latin versions.

The same Greek version produced a German version. The Hebrew version was translated into German A. von

Pforr under the title *Das buch der byspel der alten wysen* which was often printed from 1483 onwards. Besides exercising deep influence on German literature, it was rendered into Danish, Icelandic and Dutch. An Italian version of it was made by A. Firenzuola in 1546. A direct Italian version (from the Hebrew ?) by A. Doni appeared in 1552. The French version (by David Sahid and Gaulmin) of the Persian work, *Anwāri Suhaili* was rendered into German, English and Swedish.

A Spanish version, based on the above *Das buch* etc. appeared in 1493.

The Italian version of the same, by Firenzuola, was translated into French in 1556. The Italian Baldo, early in the twelfth century, used some version for his *Novus Esopus*. La Fontaine, in his *Fables* (2nd. ed., 1678) acknowledges his indebtedness for the major part of his new matter to the Indian sage Pilpay who appears to be Vidyāpati.

The first part of the above Italian version by Doni was translated into English by T. North in 1570 under the title *The Morall Philosophie of Doni*.

The Persian *Anwāri Suhaili* was rendered into Turkish by Alī bin Šālih between 1512 and 1520. It was again translated into French by Galland and Cardonne, the latter having been translated into German, Dutch, Hungarian and Malay.

The Arabic version of the *Pañcatantra* was rendered into Hebrew by the Rabbi Joel (C. 1100). From this was produced by John of Capua, between 1263 and 1278, the *Liber Kellae et Dimnae, Directorium vitae humanae* (Pub. 1480). It supplied material to Raimundus de Biterris who wrote his *Liber de Dina et Kalila* for Johanna of Navarre.

APPENDIX

Indian Motifs Abroad¹

A comparative study of the stories of India² and of those prevailing in other countries reveals remarkable similarity in motifs and environment. Despite modifications and new garbs one cannot fail to see the original form derived from India. While, in some cases, borrowing from India cannot be definitely established, in others it is beyond doubt.

The question naturally arises—how could an Indian tale travel so widely in the days when communication was difficult and fraught with dangers? It is, however, not difficult to answer. Evidences are available about trade relations, both by land and sea, between India on the one hand and the lands of the Far East as well as remote places of Europe on the other. Of brisk cultural contacts of India with the Far Eastern countries there is overwhelming evidence, literary and epigraphic. Many of the literary works of Java and other neighbouring places bear eloquent testimony to the influence of Sanskrit epics and other works. The *Manu-smṛiti* is a prominent work which exercised considerable influence over Burma and several Far Eastern countries. The accounts of Chinese travellers clearly indicate the intimate relation between India and China.

It is more often than not that Arabia and Persia act as the media for the transmission of Indian ideas to the West. The cause is not very far to seek. These two

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1. For the present purpose, we shall deal with only a few important motifs.
 2. Here we are confined only to the stories occurring in Sanskrit works.

countries owed a great deal to India in the domain of culture, particularly medical science, mathematics and astronomy. The *Pañcatantra* was translated in Persia as early as 570 A. D. The Arabian traveller, Al-Biruni, travelled extensively in India and left an illuminating account. It was through him that many Indian ideas got into Arabia. The Muslim invasions of India provided another channel for the cultural currents of India to flow into these lands. Muslim invasions and preaching served as convenient media for the propagation of borrowed Indian ideas over Europe.

The Imperial Court of Muslim rulers of Delhi fostered Indo-Persian literature. In Akbar's court Sanskrit texts were rendered into Persian. Dārā, brother of Aurangzib made a comparative study of Vedānta and Sufism.

The spread of Hinduism and Buddhism was a potent factor that served to disseminate Indian tales or motifs to countries of the East and the West.

Another carrier of Indian ideas was the gypsies who spread far and wide. Their contact having been with the masses both in India and abroad, folk-tales found a favourable resort in them.

We shall briefly note the cases of similarity in motifs found in Sanskrit literature and world literature. The references to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva relate to Tawney's translation entitled *Ocean of Story* and edited by Penzer in ten volumes (Indian ed.). For references to different works and journals, we are indebted to the same work.

MAGICAL ARTICLES

In the Mbh. we have the inexhaustible vessel of Draupadī (III. 4). It was given by the sun-god. The condition was that it would produce fruits, roots, vegetables etc. and that it would never be empty before Draupadī took her food from it.

In the story of the founding of the city of Pāṭaliputra (Penzer, p.p. 21 f.f.), king Putraka is stated to have found the two sons of Maya fighting for the possession of their valuable heritage of three magical articles, viz. a vessel, a stick and a pair of shoes. He is told of the wonderful power of these articles. Whatever food is wished in the vessel, it is found there immediately. Whatever is written with the stick comes true. By putting on the shoes one can fly through the air. Putraka dupes the brothers, and makes off with the articles.

Magical articles in some form or other are found in the stories of many other countries. An incident, similar to that in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* story, occurs in Grimm's *Fairy Tales* (trs., p. 370).

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* story is found in a very similar manner in the *Persian Bahār-i-Danish* (Wilson, *Collected Works*, vol. iii, p. 169, note); a purse is, however, substituted for the rod. It should be pointed out that the inexhaustible purse is also of Hindu origin, and a fraudulent representative of it makes a great figure in one of the stories of the *Dśakumāracarita* (Chap. ii).

The Mongolian form of the story occurs in *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 24. The Swedish story of the beautiful palace east of the sun and north of the earth, in Thorpe's *Scandinavian Tales*, contains a similar incident, p. 168 (ed. 1856). Besides the above story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, other parallels are pointed out in a Swedish story in *Cavallius*, p. 182, Pröhle, *Kindermärchen*, No. 22, a Norwegian story in *Ashbjörnsen*, p. 53, 171, a Hungarian story in *Mailath and Gaal*, No. 7.

In the *Arabian Nights* (Burton, vol. viii, p. 120) also we find two boys fighting for the possession of magical articles. Magical articles are found also in the Italian tale of Liar Bruno. In tale 21 of *Portuguese Folk-Tales* (1883), two couples are found fighting for magical articles.

The shoes of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* story may be

compared with the bed in the ninth novel of the tenth day of the *Decameron*.

Putraka's artifice in Somadeva's story has parallels in the following :

Story entitled *Fischer Märchen* in Gaal's *Märchen der Magyaran*, p. 168,

Waldau, *Böhmische Märchen*, p.p. 260, 564,

Dassent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, 2nd. ed., p. 263,

A. C. Fryer's *English Fairly Tales from the North Country*.

The lengthening and diminishing noses, as Penzer points out, remind one of the "three wishes" cycle of stories which started with the *Pañcatantra* in India, and travelled through Persia, Arabia and via Turkey to Europe. There it occurs in La Fontaine's *Trois Souhais*, Prior's *Ladle and Les Quatre Souhais de Saint Martin*.

In a manuscript, preserved at Le Bibliotheque Nationale there is a story which has been translated into French by L. 'inexorable Courtisane et les Talismans, (*Le Revue Orientale et Americaine*, 1865, vol. x, p.p. 149-57). In it we find a double motif presumably derived from India. The one is of magical articles. The other is a courtesan trying to ruin men and ultimately finding her match. The latter appears to have borrowed from the story of the merchant's son, the courtesan and the wonderful ape occurring in Chap. XVII of the *Ocean of Story*.

In the *Household Tales* (ii. p. 348) there is the wishing cap which would take the wearer to any place he likes.

A noticeable feature of the motif of magical articles, occurring in India and in the West, is that while the Indians generally represent them as cleverly stolen with impunity, the westerners tell of them as acquired by honest means.

Penzer is, perhaps, right in assuming that the idea of fight over magical articles was derived from the East while

the theme of magical articles themselves was already a commonplace of Western *Märchen*.

For magical articles as a motif, also see Coxwell, *Siberian Folk-Tales*, p. 238 ; Halliday, *Jour. Gypsylore Soc.*, ii, 1924, p.p. 151-56.

ENTRAPPED SUITORS

The motif of suitors, entrapped by a chaste wife, is found in the literary works of various countries of the East and the West. It seems to have originated in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and migrated to other lands where it was altered to a greater or less degree. Two clear variants of the story are noticeable. These are as follows :—

- 1) The woman entraps them, and puts them to shame before her husband or the whole city.
- 2) The suitors try to make the wife unfaithful so that her action may be fruitful on the magic article.

In both the above forms, the suitors are concealed in trunks or sacks ; they emerge painted, naked, feathered and so forth.

The earliest literary form of the story appears in the story of Devasmitā in chap. XIII of the *Ocean of Story*. It largely resembles the tale of Upakośā ; the former, however, adds two red lotuses of which the absent husband takes one and the wife keeps the other. Both remain unfaded as chastity lasts. The suitors approach Devasmitā. They are rendered unconscious by drugs and then stripped, branded and cast into a ditch of dirt.

In both the above-mentioned tales of Somadeva, the wife is chaste and faithful to her absent husband, and makes fools of the intending adulterers. As the story travelled to other lands, incidents were changed and assumed a vulgar garb.

In the story, called 'The Touchstone' (*Indian Antiquary*, ix. 1873), G. A. Damant relates how, of the four admirers

of a woman, the first came with molasses covering his body, drenched in water, wearing cotton-wool and tied to a window. The woman represents him as a demon before the other three who run away in fear leaving her alone with the first man. It is described by Gloustone in his *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. ii. In Stokes' *Indian Fairy Tales* (No. 28), the woman is approached by four men selling thread in the market. She puts each of them in a separate chest, and sells the same to their respective sons whose shame, on opening the chests, knows no bounds.

A similar story occurs in Thorburn's *Bannū or Our Afghan Frontier* (See *Mélusine*, p. 178).

It is found in the following Persian works :

Tūtī-nāmā of Nakshabī, *Thousand and One Days* by Mukhlis of Ispahān, *Bahār-i-Dānīsh* by Ināyatullāh, *Gul-i Bakāwālī* by Izzatullāh. In these first two versions, the wife does not depart from virtue and succeeds in discomfiting the suitors. In the third, the husband is in police custody. His wife entraps the *Kutwal* (police magistrate) in a big jar, and a *Kāzī* in a chest, and eventually gets her husband released. In the last story, four brothers are seduced into the residence of a courtesan, lose their all in gambling and are enslaved by her. The youngest brother becomes the hero, and brands the others on their backs and release them.

In Arabia it appears twice in the *Nights* (Burton, vi, p. 172; Supp. vol. V, p. 253). The first story resembles that in the *Bahār-i-Dānīsh* in its objective of the wife's securing the release of her husband from prison. Some course matters are added for fun. The men are kept locked up for three days. The second story relates how the woman locks them up in a chest whence they are released on the husband's return on condition that each of them will first dance and tell a story. The first story appears, almost in the same form, in the *Seven Vazirs* (See Clouston's *Book of Sindibad*).

In the Turkish *History of the Forty Vazirs*, the twenty-first story slightly resembles the above; in it, however, there is one man who is a willing lover of the woman (See Gibb's trs., p. 227).

In Europe the oldest and the most complete version is *fabliau*, entitled *Constant du Hamel* (See B. Mèon's *Fabliaux et contes* etc., XI-XV siècles, iii, p. 296 and Montaiglon's *Recueil general et complete des Fabliaux des XIII etc. XIV siècles* iv, p. 166). In this version, the suitors are finally chased by dogs through streets.

In Italy, it is found, with variations, at several places,¹ e.g. eighth novel of the eighth day of the *Decameron*, the eighth novel of the ninth day of *Sansovino* etc.

The best English version appears to be in 'The Wright's Chaste Wife', A dam of Cobsam (C. 1462). In it the suitors enter through a trap-door and are made to spin flax till the return of the husband.

In the story of the Mastermaid in Dasent's *Tales from the Norse*, a woman, possessed of magic power, agrees to receive three constables on three consecutive nights. By her magic power she makes each of them do some foolish act of which they cannot get rid till dawn.

An Icelandic version is found in Powell and Magnusson's collection, entitled Story of Geirlaug and Groedari.

There is a Portuguese form in the sixty-seventh story in Coelho's *Contos Populares Portuguezes*, 1879.

On this motif, see Halliday, *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.* 3rd. series, i, 1922, p. p. 55-58; Bedier, *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1925, p. p. 454-57; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, ii, p. p. 445-56; J. Bolte, *Zeitsch. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xxvi, p. 19; *Fornmanna Sögur*, iii, p. 67 et. seq. Mozon, *Contes populaires de la Macédoine sud-occidentale*, Paris, 1923, p. p. 123, 213.

1. For Italian variants of the story, See A. C. Lee's *The Decameron; its Sources and Analogues*, 1909.

THE BITCH AND THE PEPPER

In the second part of the story of Devasmitā (Chap. xiii of *The Ocean of Story*), this motif occurs. A female ascetic, trying to enter the private room of Devasmitā, was prevented by a dog. She, however, got into it with the help of a maid, tried to gain Devasmitā's confidence and went away. Another day she came again, gave the bitch a piece of meat mixed with pepper dust. The bitch ate it up. The pepper dust caused tears to flow from the animal's eyes. She showed it to Devasmitā, and told her that the animal, having recognised her as a companion in the former birth, began to weep. The wily ascetic said that she and the bitch were co-wives of a Brahmin in the former birth. During the husband's absence from home, she used to live with other men thus satisfying her natural propensities. So, she has been born as an ascetic. The other wife maintained her chastity ; so, she has been born as a bitch.

The transformation of a woman into a bitch occurs in a story in the *Disciplina Clericalis* (See Wilson : *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*). The motif occurs also in Le Grande as *La vieille qui séduisit la jeune fille*, iii, 148 (ed. III, vol. iv, 50).

The story is found in the *Gesta Romanorum* as 'The Old Woman and her Dog.'

The story occurs in the Persian *Sindibād Nāma*, the Syriac *Sindban*, the Greek *Syntipas* and the Libro de los Engernos, the Hebrew *Sandabar*.

In Arabia, the story appears as 'The wife's Device to Cheat her Husband' (*Nights*, Burton, vi, p. p. 152-56).

The idea of persuading a lady to accept a lover, by showing her the unhappy consequences suffered by a woman for refusing her lover in a previous birth, occurs in the story of 'Nastagio and the Spectre Horseman' which is the eighth novel of the fifth day of the *Decameron*.

OVERHEARING

Eavesdroppers are known to have caused serious mischief in the world. Even the walls have ears, give thy ears to all but voice to few—these are the precautionary remarks meant particularly for persons of position. In ancient Indian works on polity, kings are warned against leakage of counsel even by talking birds. No wonder, therefore, that it became a favourite theme of story-tellers. This motif is abundantly found in Indian stories. In the stories of some other countries, too, it is employed. There is no means to establish borrowing from India, but the likelihood cannot be ruled out.

Quite a few examples¹ are found in the *Kathākośa* (See Tawney, *Oriental Translation Fund*, New Series, ii, 1895).

Similar stories occur in Frere's *Old Deccan Days* (e. g. fifth, seventh and ninth stories).

In the *Pañcatantra* (Benfey, vol. ii, p. p. 257, 258) this motif is found.

An example of the motif is found in Bernhard Julg's *Mongolische Märchen* etc. (Innsbruck, 1868, tale 15, p. 147).

For references to examples of this motif, see Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of Pārśvanātha*, p. 185. For Jewish legends, containing this motif, see Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, Nos. 110, 447, 449.

On this theme, see Coxwell, *Siberian Folktales*, p. 163, Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen Zu den Kinderund Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig, 1913, i, p. 53 n¹

1. E. g., Story of the Couple of Parrots, Story of Queen Madanāvalī's confinement to a lonely palace, Story of Lalitānga.

DOCTOR KNOW-ALL

In the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (Chap. xxx), Hariśarman appears as a know-all person as he is supposed to possess supernatural knowledge. After a theft in the palace he was summoned to trace the thief. In reality, he had not the power of which he boasted. He took time, and felt extremely embarrassed. By a curious combination of circumstances, however, he succeeded in fulfilling the mission. It is closely similar to the story of Doctor Allwissend in Grimm's *Tales*.

Versions of the story, with modifications, are found in different countries of the East and the West. For example, it occurs in the *Siddhi-kūr*, the Mongolian form of the *Vetālapañcavimśati*.

The most complete form of the story is found in Schleicher's *Lithuanian Legends*.

A version of the story occurs in the *Facetiæ* of Henricus Bebelius.

A semblance of the story is found in the *Nights* too (Burton, Supp., Vol. i, p. p. 282-87).

On this motif, see Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. p. 193 *et. seq.* and 244, 245, c. f. Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, p. p. 242, 243.

POISON-DAMSEL

The motif of poison-damsel (*viṣa-kanyā*) probably originated in India, though it is rarely met with in Sanskrit literature.

A poison-damsel was a girl slowly poisoned and used against an enemy. Her look, breath, kiss, embrace, and particularly intercourse with her were supposed to infect the man concerned. The most noteworthy mention of a poison-damsel is found in the political drama, *Mudrā-rakṣasa* of Viśākhadatta (c. 7th. century). In it we find

that Rākṣasa tries to kill Candragupta by means of a poison-damsel. In the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, it is king Nanda himself that prepares the damsel.

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Chap. XIX), we find that Yogakaraṇḍaka, minister of king Brahmadatta, sent poison-damsels as dancing girls among the host of the king of Vatsa.

In the Latin work, *Secretum Secretorum*, which is a translation from the Arabic, we find Aristotle warning Alexander against poison-damsels.

Through the translation of the above work into various European languages this motif passed on to many countries, e. g. Spain, Italy, Holland, France and England.

The spread of the poison-damsel motif got a fillip through the *Gesta Romanorum* in which it was included.

A late adaptation of the story is in the *Rappacini's Daughter* by the American poet, Hawthorne. In it a doctor is described as training his daughter soon after her birth, to inhale the odours of poisonous plants of which his garden is full. After the lapse of several years, she becomes immune from poison, and becomes so poisonous herself that any flower she touches fades away. A young man falls in love with her. A colleague of her father prepares a potion for the lover to neutralise the poison. The plan is successful. But, as poison has become a part of her being, the sudden application of the antidote causes her death.

SCORNEO LOVER OF WOMEN

A common motif is the revenge of a woman whose love has been spurned. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find Rāvaṇa's sister, Śūrpanakhā, making overtures of love at first to Rāma, then to Lakṣmaṇa. The latter not only did not entertain her, but also chopped off her nose. To feed her grudge she instigated her demon-relatives to destroy

the men who scorned her love and caused physical injury to her.

In the Mbh., Ambā, failing to gain Bhīṣma's love, performed severe penance and obtained a boon for causing the death of Bhīṣma against whom she bore a strong grudge.

In the Jain *Pālagopāla-kathānaka* of Jinakīrti (15th. century-1st. half) there is the tale of a woman who tried to seduce a youth. He having refused to yield, she revengefully accused him of attempts on her honour.

In a Telugu palm-leaf manuscript, entitled *Śārngadhara-carita*,¹ the step-mother of prince Śārngadhara falls in love with him. He rejects her advances. The infuriated woman takes revenge by complaining to the king that the young man attempted to violate her. The king punishes him severely.

In the *Kumāra Rāmacarita*,² a queen was enamoured of his youngest son. He having refused to gratify her desire she complained to the king that he had attempted to violate her chastity. The king put the young man to death.

This motif occurs in Persian and Arabic fictions. The best example is furnished by the *Book of Sindibād* or the *Story of the king, his Son, the Damsel and the Seven Vazirs*.

The collection is found in the Nights under the caption "The Craft and Malice of Women".³

The Persian *Bakhtyār Nāma* should be referred to in this connexion.

There is a Turkish version in which the mother-in-law in the seducer.⁴

1. See Penzer, p. 121.

2. Ibid. p. 122.

3. See Burton, vol. vi, p. 127. Also two other stories, viz. Tale of Kumar al-Zaman and History of Gharib and his brother Ajib.

4. See Gibb. *History of Forty Vezirs*, 1886 (known in Turkey as *Qira Vezir Tārīkhī*. Turkish trs. *Hakayatu-Erba İna-sabahinçwe*, Mesa. i. e. The story of the Forty Morns and Eves.

A woman's proposal, its rejection and her revenge—this is the sequence of events in such stories. It is found to be very popular in the East. From the East it travelled to the West.

PRETENDED HUSBAND

A person, posing as the husband of a woman, is a common motif. In India it is very ancient. As early as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we have the story of Indra, disguised as Gautama, enjoying his wife, Ahalyā. In the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (Chap. XXXIII), lady Kalīngasenā appears to have been married by a prince of Vidyādhara, who assumed the form of king of Vatsa.

Benfey traces¹ versions of this motif in *Kalila and Dimna*, *John of Capua*, *Śukasaptati*, *Anvār-i-Suhaili*, *Bahār-i-Dānish* etc. It also occurs in such European collections as *Le Livre des Lumières*, *Cabinet des Fées*, the *Decameron* etc. A version is found in the *Heptameron*.

In all the versions, unlike that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, the trick is played on the wife by human beings. In Herodotus (vi. 69), however, there is a similarity with the Indian version in that there is a superhuman agency.

In almost all the versions, the wife is innocent and a victim of deceit.

MAGICAL CONFLICT OR TRANSFORMATION COMBAT

It is a very old motif. In the examples we have, it is as follows. First, some person is turned into an animal and sold to the highest bidder. The seller is generally the person's father. He should never sell the string round

1. *Pañcatantra*, i. p. 299.

the animals' neck ; because its surrender makes the person liable to remain in the form of the animal. Secondly, incidents lead to a magical conflict either between the hero and a magician (in many cases, his former teacher) or the hero's rescuer and the magician.

In the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (Chap. XXXVII), one Bhavaśarman is turned into an ox by means of a string put round his neck. When a person, taking pity on him, removed the string, he regained his original form.

This motif has parallels in the *Nights*. For example, we may mention The Second Kalender's Tale (Burton, vol. i, p. p. 134-35), Sidi NÚ uman (Burton, Supp., vol. iii, p. 325).

The Golden Ass of Apuleius also bears resemblance with it.

The following are some of the references which will show the diffusion of the motif in Europe and in the East :—

Oesterley, *Baital Pachisi*, 174-175 ;

Surynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainments*, No. 57 ;

Jülg, *Die Märchen des Siddhi-kür*, p. 51 ;

Gibb, *History of the Forty Vezirs*, p. p. 253-56 ;

Busk, *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 4 ;

Hahn, *Griechische Und Albanesische Märchen*, 1864,

No. 68 ;

Milatovic, *Serbian Folk-lore*, 1874, p. 211 ;

Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 229 ;

Campbell, *Tales from the West Highlands*, vol. vii,

p. 423 ;

Thorpe, *Yule-tide Stories*, 1858, p. 364 ;

Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*, etc.

METAMORPHOSIS

Besides transformation combat, dealt with earlier, we have other forms of the metamorphosis motif.

In Sanskrit, examples of this motif are many. In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* Urvaśī, having left Purūravas took the form of a swan. In the Rām. Ahalyā is said to have been reduced to a heap of ashes by the curse of her husband Gautama, for adultery with Indra. Again, the demon Mārīca assumed the form of a golden deer to lure Sītā and Rāma. In the Mbh. there are several well-known instances. Sage Kindama is said to have united with a female deer himself assuming the form of a deer. King Bhaṅgāśva was changed into a woman after taking bath in a lake (XIII. 12). In the Śalya Parvan (IX. 52) we find an old girl changed to a young girl for a night. In the tale of the sage and a dog (III. 116, 117) a dog changed to a hyena. In the Tale of Frog Princess (III. 190) a Queen is stated to have been turned into a frog after touching the water of a well. In the story of Yayāti, he is stated to have cast off his decrepitude and become young.

It may be noted that, in these stories, there is a taboo the violation of which causes the disaster. Another feature is the revival of the memories of the former life as soon as the taboo is broken.

In the *Daśakumāra-carita*, a nymph is stated to have been changed into a silver chain. In the *Kādambarī* (Pt. I) Kapiñjala, after plunging into the Acchoda lake, regained his original form from that of a horse. The famous story of metamorphosis is that of a rat changed by turn into a cat, a dog and a tiger and back to a rat (*Hitopadeśa*, NSP. ed., p. 115). In other countries also the motif is present. For instance, in the Tale of Two Brothers, *Household Tales*, a magic wand changes a person to a stone statue. In the Seven magicians and two brothers in *Folk-lore and*

Legend—*Oriental* one of the brothers is pursued by seven magicians and these change forms. In his *Chips from a German Workshop* (II. p. 251), Max Müller refers to a tale similar to the story of the female frog above.

PROXY-VICTIM

It is a common theme in the narratives. It means the sacrifice of one in the interest of others all of whom are threatened with destruction.

In the Mbh., Bhīma goes to the demon Bakāsura instead of the man to be offered to the latter. Eventually Bhīma kills the demon, and thus removes a dangerous menace.

In the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, Jīmūtavāhana offers himself to Garuḍa so that the latter may spare the serpents which were being killed by him. In the latter, a king takes a virgin every day, enjoys her and kills her in the morning. The turn of a Vazir's daughter comes. She dupes him by telling a thousand and one interesting tales, and thus saves herself and many others from a grim tragedy.

FAITHFUL SERVANT

The motif of faithful servant is found in India as well as in several countries abroad. The story of the faithful servant, Viravara, occurs in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* (No. 4)¹ and in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (No. 70, chap. L III).

The story appears in the Persian *Tūti-nāmāh* (I-Ken, Touti Nameh, éine.... Märchan von Nechschebi, 1882, p. p. 17 and 89) as also in the Turkish *Tūti-nāmāh* (Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 42)

In several versions it has merged into another legend-cycle which can be designated as 'Perfect Friends' or 'Friendship' and 'Sacrifice' Motif.

¹ For details, see Oesterley, *Bairal Pachisi*, p. p. 185-187.

The closest parallel to the Indian story occurs in Grimm's *Der getrene Johannes* (No. 6.).

The motif, merged as above, appears in the story of *Two Perfect Friends* in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Peter Alphonse. It came to be incorporated with *The Seven Sages of Rome*. It appeared with the Captain *Amicus et Amelius* in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais.

Gradually it got into French literature and was attached to the Carolingian cycle in the *chanson de geste* of *Amis et Amiles* (12th. cent.).¹

CHANGED BRIDE

This motif is found in several countries of the East and the West.

In the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (story of Kamalākara and Hamsāvalī, No. 163C, Vol. VI, p. 40) we meet with the motif.

It has been dealt with in detail by P. Arfert, *Das Motiv von der..... Erzählung—Litteratur.....* 1897, pp. 8-71, and by Cosquin, *Contes Indiens et l' Occident*, 1922, p.p. 61-15. The following works may also be consulted : P. Saimtyves, *Les contes de Perrault*, 1923, p. p. 48, 50-52.

The motif occurs in *Die Gänsemagd*, Grimm's *Kinder- und Hansmärchen*, No. 89. Also see B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen*, p. 100 and Gonzenfach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, No. 33 and 34, intro. to Basile's *Pentamerone* (Burton, i, p. 5).

1. For the dissemination of the story all over Europe, see Chauvin, viii, 194-196 ; Dawkins and Halliday, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. p. 253, 254, 523 ; Coxwell, *Siberian and other folk-tales*, p. p. 768, 775, 880 ; A. H. Krappe, *The Legend of Amicus and Amelius*, *Modern Language Rev.*, xviii, 1923, p. p. 152-61.

LANGUAGE OF SIGNS

It is a favourite motif to story-tellers of both the Orient and the Occident. It seems to have travelled from the East to the West. A noteworthy characteristic of this motif in the East is that the sign is not understood by the persons for whom it is meant. A third party explains it. In some cases, a sign is answered by another sign.

In the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (Penzer, vol. I, No. 3) we meet with it in the story of Puṣpadanta. Devadatta falls in love with a princess whom he beholds at a window. She sends a message to him by signs.

This motif occurs in a story in *Arji-Borji Khan*, the Mongolian version of the *Śiṃhāsana-dvātrimśikā*. It was translated into German by Jülg (Mongolische Märchen-sammlung, Innsbrück, 1868, p. 240) and into English by Busk (*Sagas from the Far East*, p. p. 315-23) and Coxwell (*Siberian Tales*, p. p. 227-31). It occurs in a sub-story to the 'Lady's Ninth Story' of *The Forty Vezirs* (Gibb, p. 116).

On this motif, see G. Mallery, *Intro. to the study of Sign Language*, Washington, 1880; C. f. *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*, I, xi. 21; I, xii. 13; II. xxvii. 43.

SUPPOSED WITCH

The idea of introducing a supposed witch is found in several stories of the East and the West.

It occurs in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* and, in a more prominent form, in the story of Nītambavati in the *Daśakumāra-carita*. In the story, we find that a person succeeded in pulling a bangle from the ankle of a female figure approaching a funeral pyre and trying to drag out a half-burnt corpse; she is supposed to be a witch.

It was translated into English by Wilson, *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, vol. vii, Calcutta, 1827, p. p. 291-93.

reprinted in his *Works*, iv. *Essays*, ii. Rendered into German by Hertel (*Die zehn Prinzen*, Leipzig, 1922 ; *Indische Erzähler*, Band ii, p. p. 118-25).

It got into the Arabic version of the *Book of Sindibad*, called *Seven Vazirs*. Later included in the *Nights*, Translated by J. Scoll as the 'Story of the Painter in *Tales, Anecdotes and Letters*, trs. from the Arabic and Persian, Shrewsbury, 1800, p. p. 108-115 (Reprinted by Clouston, *Book of Sindibad*, p. p. 166-70).

SWAN MAIDEN

This motif is common to Indian tales and those of many other countries of the East and West. The usual elements in it are the hero by chance coming across a number of bathing girls, his stealing their clothes, and obtaining one of them as his wife. Generally he loses her by breaking a taboo. Sometimes a re-union takes place or the hero remains alone disconsolate for the rest of his life.

A very ancient example of this motif is preserved in the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. King Purūravas breaks a taboo, and loses Urvaśī. He goes out in quest of her, and finds her among other nymphs floating in a lake in the forms of swans. He, however, did not succeed in persuading her to return.

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, we find Kṛṣṇa concealing the clothes of bathing cowherdesses ; there is, however, no swan in it.

The above two stories make a complete swan-maiden motif.

In the story of 'The Drummer' (No. 193) in Grimm there is a similar incident of stealing pieces of linen which are restored to the owner, a lady.

The works of Bolte and Polivka (op. cit., iii, p. p. 406-17) and Holmström (*Studier öfver...annorstädes*, 1919)

show the wide dissemination of this motif abroad. In Balkan countries, and particularly in modern Greece, there is a number of stories in which the hero marries a nymph by stealing a part of her dress.

A medium, through which the motif spread to the West, is the *Arabian Nights* (Burton, viii, p. 41—'Story of Hassan of Bassorah'). Some Persian Collections¹ contain the motif. From Persia it appears to have reached Arabia. Thence it travelled northwards to Turkey and Russia and westwards to Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, West African coast, Zanzibar, Zululand and Madagascar.²

From India it travelled through another route to Tibet, land of the Tartars, Kalmucks, Mongolians, North Siberia (among such tribes as Samoyedes, Yakts, Chukchis, North America, Greenland.³

Towards the east of India we find the swan-maiden appearing in stories from Burma, Indo-China, China, Japan, Philippines, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Moluccus, Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand etc.

Some scholars⁴ are definite about the motif being rooted in ancient Sanskrit literature and travelling from India to countries of the East and the West.

CHANGE OF SEX

This motif occurs in Indian stories as well as in those of some other countries. It may be noted that change of sex is found to be a popular belief in the legends and rites of several primitive peoples. It should be noted that there is change of a man into a woman and vice versa. It may be a curse or a blessing.

1. See Scott, *Bahar-Danusi*, ii, 179, p. 213; Bricteux, *Contes Persans*, 1910, p. 277.

2. For references, see Penzer, vol. VIII, p. 227, f. n.

3. For references, see Penzer, VIII, p. 228 f. n.

4. See Penzer, VIII, p. 234.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII. 87-90) there is the story of King Ilā. It is stated that, for the offence of trespassing into a prohibited place, he was turned into a woman, and became known as Ilā. Then she gave birth to a son named Purūravas.

In the Mbh. (Udyoga, CXC—CXC iv), Śikhaṇḍin, a girl, is said to have exchanged sex with a Yakṣa.

In the *Kathākośa* (Tawney, p. 110), a girl puts a magic plant in her ear, and immediately becomes a man.

A version of the Mbh. tale was made in Persian by Izzat Ullah (1712) under the title *Gul-i Bakāwali*.

A version each is found in Dubois' *Pañcatantra* (p. 15), No. 14 of Dozons' *Contes Albanais*, No. 58 of Hahn's *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*.

The transformations are usually effected by magic pill, seal or plant or by mutual agreement with a superhuman being. As the motif made its way towards the West, the change takes place as a result of bathing in a lake or well. In the *Book of Sindibad* (Clouston, p. p. 80, 156, 299) and the *Nights* (Burton, vi. p. 145) there is mention of a well changing sex. In another tale of the *Nights* (Burton, supp., *Nights*, vi. p. 137), a magic cauldron is stated to have changed a Vizier into a woman. A story in the Arabic *Fakhir* (Collection of proverbs of Salāma) introduces this motif.

The motif occurs in a gipsy tale.¹ There is an Albanian version (Dozon : *Contes Albanais*, No. 14).

This motif is found in the well-known Andromeda cycle.²

The Greek story of Caeneus³ has similarity with the Śikhaṇḍin legend of the Mbh.

1. See *Volksdichtungen*..... Zi geuner, Vienna, 1890.

2. See S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, iii, p. p. 28-29.

3. See, for instance, Apollodorus, *Library*, Epitome i. 22 ; A. Rhodius, *Argon*, i, 57-64.

APPENDIX—III SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

ORIENT

BURMA¹

The Pāli *Sutta-vaddhaṇanīti*, current in Burma, and its Burmese translation contain some *subhāṣitas* derived from Sanskrit *Kathā* literature.

The Pāli *Lokasāra*, another anthology popular in Burma, includes, in its second and third parts, wise sayings derived from Sanskrit *subhāṣitas*.

TIBET²

We are told that the Tibetan literature from the time of Sambhota to the present century contains references to the significance and sanctity of Śabda Brahman. Sanskrit idioms and imagery were incorporated into Tibetan literature to a great extent. Quite a number of Sanskrit words are found in Tibetan ; e. g. *Om*, *Maṇi*, *Padma*, *Ārya*, *Dharma Pandita*, *Ratna*, *Vajra*. Some of these words have undergone great change in spelling and pronunciation. It is estimated that seven hundred Tibetan words are derived from Sanskrit.

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1. See L. Sternbach, General Appeal of Subhāṣita Literature in Sanskrit, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1.
 2. See N. C. Sinha, Sanskrit Across the Himalayas, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. II, pt. 1 ; K. K. Roy, Sanskrit and the Indo-Tibetan Languages, *Ibid* ; F. W. Thomas, about Tibetan and Chinese versions of the Rāmāyaṇa in *Indian Studies in Honour of C. Lanman* ; J. K. Balbir, *L'Histoire de Rama en tibetaina* etc.

Administrative records used to be maintained in Sanskrit even down to the time of Phunt Shog Namgyal (1642 A. D.) ; the Sanskrit of the records, of course, shows signs of linguistic change.

There are Tibetan translations of the following Sanskrit works in the *Tanjur* : *Chandoratnākara*, *Kāvyaadarśa* of Daṇḍin, *Meghadūta*.

Some Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Tibet.

CEYLON¹

Among the Sanskrit works, written in Ceylon, the earliest extant one is the *Sārārtha-saṃgraha*, a medical treatise attributed, in the *Mahāvamsa* (xxxvii. 108-11, 145), to king Buddhādāsa (accession 338 A. D.). The renowned *Jānakī-haraṇa* is traditionally attributed to king Kumāradāsa (508-516 A. D.) of Ceylon, supposed to have been a friend of Kālidāsa. The authorship is, however, doubted by many modern scholars.

Mahākassapa of Udumbaragiri Vihāra was versed in Sanskrit grammar. He wrote the grammatical work, *Bālāvabodhana*, on the lines of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. His pupil, Sāriputta, wrote a commentary, called *Pañcīkāṣṭhā-kāra*, on the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. It appears to be lost. The *Līnārtha-dīpa* or *Paṭṭīkarāṇa Ṭīka* by the Elder Buddhānāga is an unpublished exegetical work of the Cāndra school. It is stated in it that the *Paṭṭīkarāṇa* was written by Guṇākara.

The *Anuruddha-śataka*, by the Elder Anuruddha, is an eulogy of the Buddha, and appears to have been the first and foremost *Śataka-kāvya* of Ceylon, written in the

1. See O. H. De A. Wijesekera, Sanskrit and Sinhalese literature, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1 ; Paññānāra, *Sanskrit Literature Extant Among the Sinhalese* ; *Epigraphia Zeylonica*, Vol. 2, p. 168 ; Vol. 3, p. 154 *History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon) Vol. I. pt. 1, pp. 42 f.

manner of the *Śatakas* of India. Another noteworthy work of this type is the *Nāmāṣṭa-śataka*, in praise of the 108 epithets of the Master, of unknown authorship.

The *Buddhagadya* is of unknown authorship. The versification in it shows some similarity with the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva.

The *Daivajña-kāmadhenu* by Anomadassi who, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, was contemporaneous with King Parākrāmabāhu II (1236-71 A. D.). In 2618 stanzas it is designed to give the substance of authoritative works on astronomy such as those of Varāhamihira, Bhoja and Parāśara who are mentioned in the work.

According to the testimony of the *Mahāvamsa*, King Parākrāmabāhu the Great was very proficient in Indian works on polity like that of Kauṭilya. We are also told that Parākrāmabāhu II was trained in the Laws of Manu.

The influence of Sanskrit on the language and literature of Ceylon is also very pronounced. There are many Sanskrit loan words in Sinhalese inscriptions. There are Sanskrit verses in old Sinhalese or Eḷu inscriptions. Some inscriptions are written in Sanskrit.

In the *Katikāvata* (Ordinance for the Saṅgha), of the first 69 words all but 21 are Sanskrit.

Three well-known Sinhalese epic works, viz. the *Sasadā*, *Muvedeyā* and *Kavsilumiṇa*, probably belonging to the 13th. century, betray the influence of the epics of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi etc. in form and diction.

The Sinhalese poems of the *Sandēśa* (message) type, composed from about the 16th. century onward, are clearly composed *a la mode* the Sanskrit *dūta-kāvyas*. Two such early poems are the *Tisara-sandēśa* and the *Mayūra-sandēśa*.

The influence of Sanskrit poetics is clear in the *Siyabaslakara*, attributed to king Sena IV (accession 954 A. D.). The earliest extant Sinhalese work on poetics, it is modelled on the *Kāvyaḍarśa* of Daṇḍin.

The impact of Sanskrit grammar is evident in the Sinhalese grammatical work, *Sidat Sangarā* of Anomadiassi, said to have been a contemporary of Parākramabāhu II (12th. century). It appears to follow the Sanskrit grammatical systems of the *Sārasvata*, *Kātantra* and the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*.

The *Śārtputrīya*, a Sanskrit work on Statuary, was very popular in Ceylon.

Besides the Ceylonese collections of Sanskrit *Nīti* verses, already mentioned, some Sinhalese *Subhāṣita* collections contain verses quoted from or influenced by Sanskrit works. Some of these Sinhalese works are : *Subhāṣitaya*, *Lōkōpakāraya Anurāgamālaya*, *Upāratnamālaya*. The same remark applies to the poetical text, entitled *Vadankavipota*.

FAR EAST—Indonesia¹

For additional information about the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Indonesia, See W. Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma—Reliefs in Indonesien* ; The Rāma saga in Malaysia.

Sanskrit played a significant part in moulding the national language of Indonesia, known as the Bahasa Indonesia.² The very designation 'bahasa' has been derived from Sanskrit *bhāṣā*. Some Indonesian words with the corresponding Sanskrit originals are given below.

Indonesian	Sanskrit
<i>agama</i>	<i>āgama</i>
<i>bisa</i>	<i>viṣa</i>
<i>bumi</i>	<i>bhūmi</i>
<i>kesuma</i>	<i>kusuma</i>

1. See H. Spitzbardt, The Lexical and Morphological Impact of Sanskrit on Modern Indonesian, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, Pt 1.
2. Vide H. Spitzbardt, Sanskrit Loan Words in Bahasa Indonesia, *Jour. of Oriental Research, Madras*, XXXVI. 1970.

In the grammatical formations of some Indonesian words we find the influence of Sanskrit grammar. Sanskrit *deva* (god) and *devī* have corresponding Indonesian *dewa* and *dewi*. Sanskrit *putra*, *putrī* become *putera*, *puteri* in Indonesian.

In very recent times, some Government proclamations reveal the impact of Sanskrit. In 1966 a political-economic emergency programme was summarised under the brief codification *Dwidharma* (Skt. *dvi-dharma*) and *Tjatur-karya* (Skt. *Catuṣkārya*).

CAMBODIA¹

In some inscriptions, reference is made to Parameśvara in Śaivite contexts. It has been identified with the *Parameśvarāgama* (C. 8th. century A. D.) mentioned by Liṅgāyats as one of their basic texts.

According to P. C. Bagchi, the *Nayottara* was perhaps the same as the *Naya*—and *Uttara-sūtras* forming a part of the *Niḥśvāsātattva-saṃhitā*, preserved in a MS. of the eighth century, A. D., and probably composed in the 6th.—7th. centuries. The *Śiraścheda* is conjectured to be identical with the original *Jayadratha-yāmala*. The *Vīṇāśikha* is supposed to have been a supplement to it.

There are references in the inscriptions to the proficiency of kings and other persons in the following branches of Sanskrit learning: Four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, six systems of philosophy, grammar, Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Astronomy, Astrology, (Horāśāstra), Dhanurveda, Gandharva-veda (music), Religious literature of the Buddhists, Pāsupatas, Pañcārātras, Śaiva, Tantras.

1. See R. C. Majumdar, Study of Sanskrit in S. E. Asia, Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf., Vol. I, pt. 1; L. Sternbach, General Appeal of Subhāṣitas in Sanskrit Literature, Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf., II, pt. 1.

The inscription of Śivasoma states that he learnt Śāstras from Bhagavat Śaṅkara, identified with the famous Vedāntist, Saṅkarācārya. According to R. C. Majumdar, this is the "only authoritative evidence" about the date of Śaṅkarācārya. This king appears to have flourished in the middle of the ninth century A. D.

Apart from inscriptions, written in Sanskrit, those in the local Khmer dialect also testify to the impact of Sanskrit. For example, an inscription, found at Bantei Srei, contains 44 Sanskrit verses with 11 lines in Khmer.

In Khmer language we find the influence of Sanskrit in geographical names, names of kings, administrative terms, terms relating to Calendar. Thus, the names of many places end in—*pura*,—*sthāna*,—*paṭṭana*,—*deśa* etc. Names of kings down to the 14th. century A. D. were purely Sanskritic, e. g. Rājendravarman, Indravarman etc. We find such administrative terms as *Kulapati* (Chief of Temple), *Guṇadoṣadarśī*, *Grāmapāla*, *Dharmādhikaraṇa* etc. The Śaka era was used in inscriptions, the earliest example being an inscription dated 533 Śaka. Such chronograms as are used in Sanskrit inscriptions or manuscripts are used in some Cambodian inscriptions.

The Pāli *Lokaṇīti*, popular in Burma, and containing many sayings based on Sanskrit *Subhāṣitas*, was translated in Cambodia.

The Pāli *Rājanīti* was translated in Cambodia. It contains wise sayings on polity based on Sanskrit sources.

The *Sup'hasit e hāpsrī* etc. contains verses in Khmer, some of which are modelled on Sanskrit Kāvya, particularly the *Amaru-śataka*.

THAILAND¹ (Siam)

The impact of Sanskrit language and literature is pronounced on the archaeology, epigraphy, literature, general culture and the language of Thailand.

Pictures and idols of Brāhmanical deities are found in some temples, e. g. the stone temple called Prasart Him Pimai in Pimai district; the shrine called Prasant phanomroong in Buri Ram province.

On some walls there are paintings of Rāmāyaṇa scenes.

Some inscriptions, belonging to different periods, are written in Sanskrit, e. g. those of the Davaravati (Dvāravatī) period and Srivichai (Śrīvijaya) period. The rock inscription (1492 A. D.) made for king Sukhothai, the earliest extant record of the Thai language, contains many Sanskrit words.

The Sanskrit *Śakuntalā* and *Meghadūta* were rendered into Thai verse.

Like the Indian Hindus, the Thais use the word *namaskāra* while greeting one another. In Thai speech and writing the Sanskrit words *praṇamya* and *vanda* (*vandya*) occur.

Names of the days of week have been adopted from Sanskrit with slight variations in Thai. These are as follows.

Thai	Sanskrit
<i>aditay</i> (a : lit)	<i>āditya</i> (Sunday)
<i>candr</i> (d 3 An)	<i>Chandra</i> (Monday)
<i>aṅgār</i> (Anka : n)	<i>aṅgāra</i> (Tuesday)

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1. See C. Sarapadnuke, Sanskrit and Thailand, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, Pt. 1; C. Navawongs, Sanskrit words in the Thai language, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1; L. Sternbach, General Appeal of Subhāṣitas in Sanskrit Lit., *Ibid*; E. Lorgeou, Suphasit Siamois, *Bulletin de l' Athenae Oriental*, 1881, 1882.

<i>budh</i> (put)	<i>budha</i> (Wednesday)
<i>brhasbodi</i> (P Aruh Atsabs : di :)	<i>brhaspati</i> (Thursday)
<i>Śukr</i> (sug)	<i>Śukra</i> (Friday)
<i>Saur</i> (San)	<i>Saura</i> (Saturday)

Some personal names in Thai have been taken from Sanskrit. A king was named *Indraditay* (from Skt. Indra and Āditya).

Sanskrit words are used as names of universities, hospitals, etc. For example :

Silpakorn University	Skt. Śilpakara
Chulalongkorn University	Skt. Cūḍālaṅkaraṇa
Vajira Hospital	Skt. Vajra
Ramadhibordi Hospital	Skt. Rāmādhīpati

In Thai vocabulary, we find many Sanskrit words some of which have the same meaning as in Sanskrit, while others have a changed connotation in Thai. Besides, there are some new coinages in Thai based on Sanskrit. We have already shown some Sanskrit words with their Thai equivalents. Below are given some Thai words which are based on Sanskrit, but have undergone change in meaning.

Thai	Sanskrit
<i>icchā</i> (jealous)	<i>icchā</i> (desire)
<i>saṅgh</i> (monk)	<i>saṅgha</i> (group)
<i>moho</i> (angry)	<i>moha</i> (infatuation, delusion)

New creations in Thai based on Sanskrit :

Thai	Sanskrit
<i>carācar</i> (policeman on the traffic)	<i>carācara</i>
<i>prajñā</i> (philosophy)	<i>prajñā</i>
<i>vidyu</i> (radio)	<i>vidyut</i>

Sanskrit *Subhāṣitas* appear to have exerted deep and wide influence in Siam. The Pāli *Lokaṇīti*, containing many sayings derived from Sanskrit, and popular in Burma, made its way into Siam where it underwent many editions. Of these, an extensive one is the *Sup'hasit Lokaṇīti Klam Klong*. The most well-known *Subhāṣita* collection in Siam is the *Sup'hasit* of P'hrah Ruāng who was probably a king of the 13th. cent. A. D. It also contains many sayings substantially derived from Sanskrit *Subhāṣitas*.

The Siamese anthology, *Pip'heksōn büt* and the Pāli *Sōnnōn* current in Siam, contain teachings from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Some of the popular Siamese proverbs and wise sayings are of Indian origin ; these often refer to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and *Garuḍa*. These appear to be partly influenced by the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*.

In the present century, the Sanskrit *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha* became known in Siam as the *Vyākāra-śataka* probably through the *Vyāsakarāya* of Ceylon.

CHAMPA¹

It has been shown that in the vocabulary of the current language of Champa (Viet Nam) there are 700 Sanskrit words.

LAOS²

An interesting inscription which, on paleographic grounds, appears to date back to the second half of the

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1. See R. C. Majumdar, Study of Sanskrit in S. E. Asia, Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf., Vol. I, pt. I.
 2. Vide R. C. Majumdar, Study of Sanskrit in S. E. Asia, Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf., vol. I, pt. I : L. Sternbach, General

fifth century A. D., reveals intimate knowledge of Brāhmanical texts and culture. It begins with invocations to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva. Then it refers to Mahārājādhirāja Devānika comparing him with Yudhiṣṭhira, Indra, Dhanañjaya etc. It also refers to various sacrifices performed by the king. We are informed that, in view of the good result known to be accruing from the birth or death in a *Mahātīrtha*, the king thought of establishing one to be called New Kurukṣetra. The inscription quotes three verses from the *Mahābhārata* and one from the *Matsya-purāṇa*.

The Pāli *Lokaṇṭi*, containing many sayings based on Sanskrit *subhāṣitas*, is known in this region. The Laotian *Lokaṇṭi* appears to be of Indian origin.

MALAYA¹

A large number of Sanskrit inscriptions, belonging to the 4th. and the 5th. century A. D., have been discovered in this region. One of these contains three Sanskrit stanzas. Another refers to the *Mahānāvika* (captain) Buddhagupta, a resident of Raktamṛttikā to the south-west of Murshidabad in West Bengal.

BALI²

The so called Sanskrit dictionary, *Svara-saṃhitā*, contains several Sanskrit words and their meaning on each page.

Appeal of Subhāṣitas in Sanskrit Literature, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1 : L. Pinot, *Recherches de la littérature Laotienne*, BEFEO, 22. 6.

1. See R. C. Majumdar, *Study of Sanskrit in S. E. Asia*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. I, pt. 1.
2. See Tjok Rai Sudharta, *Sanskrit in Bali*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. I, pt. 1 ; J. Filliozat, *Sanskrit as a Link language*, *P. o. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1.

In Bali, religion is called *Āgama*. Śaiva and Bauddha religions, with Sanskrit texts, are preserved in this island even to-day.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS¹

The *Maharadīa Lawana* is a Maranaw work containing the Rama-story in miniature. *Maharadīa* and *Lawana* are derived respectively from Sanskrit *mahārāja* and *Rāvaṇa*.

MONGOLIA²

Sanskrit Buddhist texts, beginning with the *Pañcarakṣā*, were translated under Emperor Qaisan Külüg (Skt. name Āyurparpata—1307-11 A. D.).

There are Mongol translations of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*.

Tibetan translation of some Sanskrit works was rendered into Mongolian. For example, the *Meghadūta*, translated into Tibetan verse, was rendered into Mongol prose.

The influence of Sanskrit in the realm of Mongolian astronomy and astrology is obvious. For example, all the 28 *nakṣatras* of Sanskrit works have been adopted under the Mongolian designation of *nagsadar*. Mongol *susag* (probably from *śuśākhā*) appears to have been derived from Sanskrit *viśākhā*.

Remains of medical texts, which originated in India, point to the influence of Sanskrit in the medical science.

1. See J. R. Francisco, *The Philippines and India, Indian Influence in the Philippines*, Sanskrit in Philippine Language and Literature, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1.
2. See P. Aalto, *Sanskrit and Mongol Language and Literature*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1; R. Mongolia, Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and Mongolian Everlasting songs, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1.

The Mongol translation of Vāgbhaṭa's *Amṛta-hṛdaya* is known as *Dörben ündüsün*. The popular Mongolian medical work, *Rasiyan* etc., bears the Sanskrit title *Amṛta-hṛdaya-aṣṭāṅga* etc. There are Mongol equivalents of the Sanskrit names of a few medical substances.

There are written versions of the Rāma-story. Besides, shadow-plays dealing with the Rāma-story were popular.

Distinguished singers of Mongol epic songs used to study elements of Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-darśa* for perfecting their literary and oral versions.

Mongol scholars of the older generation used to study Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and Tāntric songs of Mongol *Tanjur*. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* was first translated into Mongol in 1305, and the text was included in Mongol printed *Tanjur*. It played a great part in the development of literary Mongol. From the 14th. to the 19th. century this poem of Śāntideva was translated into Mongol several times, and commented upon by Mongol scholars.

The philosophical ideas of this poem and the Tāntric songs of *Tanjur* influenced the *Urtu-yin-dagun* or everlasting songs composed by Mongol scholars.

The Tibetan *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi*, containing translation of many Sanskrit sayings, was translated into Mongolian several times. Based on this or directly on the Tibetan version is the eastern Mongolian Buryat work by Lāmā Irdini (2nd half of 19th. cent. and beginning of 20th.). In it many *Subhāṣitas* are derived from Sanskrit, particularly the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*.

Collections of wise sayings, current in Mongolia, reveal that many of them are translations of Sanskrit *subhāṣitas* or were influenced by them.

We give below some Mongol words derived from Sanskrit, in many cases through Tibetan :

Mongol	Sanskrit
<i>matar-madar</i>	<i>makara</i>
<i>garag-graq</i>	<i>graha</i>
<i>silūg</i>	<i>śloka</i>
<i>abistg</i>	<i>abhiṣeka</i>
<i>badmarāga</i>	<i>padmarāga</i>
<i>siriṣa</i>	<i>śriṣa</i>
<i>agaru</i>	<i>agaru</i>
<i>cindan</i>	<i>candana</i>

CENTRAL ASIA¹

There is a Khotanese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Fragments of the Khotanese *Vajracchedikā Prajñā-Pāramitā* are available.

Among the finds of MSS. by the German-Turfan expedition to Eastern Turkestan, there are fragments of the *Laghu-cāṇakya* version of Cāṇakya's sayings.

ARABIA²

In the lifetime of Muqaffa or a little later, a person named Abanal Laḥeqi wrote an Arabic poem with the theme of the *Pañcatantra*. One Abdullah ibn Hilal al Abvazi rendered the Pahlavi version of the *Pañcatantra* into Arabic. The story appears several times in Arabic prose and poetical works. Besides, there are several imitations and adaptations of it in this language.

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1. See J. W. De Jong, An Old Tibetan Version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1. p. Aalto, Sanskrit and Mongol language and literature, *Ibid*: L. Sternbach General Appeal of Subhāṣitas in Sanskrit Lit., *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1.
 2. See M. Moghegh, *Pañcatantra in Persian and Arabic literature*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

Besides the *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* of Brahmagupta, Al-Biruni¹ was familiar with its lost commentary by Balabhadra (C. 8th. century A. D.) and with the partly extant commentary by Pṛthūdakasvāmin (shortly before 864 A. D.). In his work, *India*, Al-Biruni quotes from the above work of Brahmagupta, particularly from chapter 21. Through references and quotations in the works of Brahmagupta and Balabhadra, Al-Biruni became familiar with the *Āryabhaṭīya*.²

Al-Biruni appears to have translated, also the *Laghujātaka* of Varāhamihira besides the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, *Karaṇatilaka* of Vijayananda.³

The learned scholar also quotes from the Purāṇas.

The *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* and the *Khaṇḍakhādya* were translated into Arabic with the help of a Brahmin astronomer who accompanied (770 A. D.) an embassy from Sind to Baghdad. These works were called respectively *Sindhind* and *al-Arkand*.

Yaqub Ibn Tārīq betrays the influence of Sanskrit astronomy in his work, *Tarkīb Al-aflāk* wherein he refers to four kinds of measures of time, viz. *saura*, *sāvana*, *candra* and *nākṣatra*.

PERSIA⁴

The oldest translation of the *Pañcatantra* was made in the fourth century A. D. in the reign of Nasr ibn Ahmad

1. On him, see E. S. Kennedy's article in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 2; E. C. Sachau, *Indo-arabische* etc., S. K. Chatterji, *Al-Biruni and Sanskrit*, *Al-Biruni Comm.* vol., J. Gonda, *Remarks on Al-Biruni's Quotations from Sanskrit Texts*, *Ibid*.
2. *Al-Biruni's India*, I, p. 158.
3. Vide R. N. Rai, *Brahmagupta's Works and their influence outside India*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, vol. II, pt. 2.
4. See M. Moghegh, *Pañcatantra in Persian and Arabic Literature*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. II, pt. 2; S. M. R. J. Naini,

Samani at the order of Belamī, his minister. It has been mentioned by Firdausi in the *Shāhnāme*. About the same time, Rudaki made a poetical version of the work. The first translation is lost, and the second exists in scattered verses in some works.

The work of Abdul Maali was refined and modified by Hussein Vaiz Kashefi in the 9th. century A. H. with the title of *Anwar-i-Suhaili* after Sheikh Ahmad Suhaili, Minister of Sultan Hussein, a descendant of Tamerlane.

The *Ayar-i-Danish* was simplified under the title *Nigar-i-Danish*.

From the *Qabus Nāme* we learn that king Qabusbin Washmgir of Khurazm (10th. century A. D.) asked his son to study the Persian translation of the *Pañcatantra* to acquire wisdom. The introduction to Firdausi's *Shāhnāme* mentions it as a source of wisdom. Both these sources mention the *Rāmāyana* as a source of knowledge about the art of government.

The *Pañcatantra* has been translated directly into Persian by I. Shekhar.

The introduction to the *Shāhnāme* and the *Qabus Nāme* testify to the popularity of Cāṇakya in Persia. The Kashmirian ruler, Zain-ul-Adedin (15th. century) got the *Mahābhārata* translated into Persian. Dārā Shikoh, Aurangzeb's brother, translated into Persian the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Gītā*. His *Samudra-saṅgama* (Persian *Majmaul Bahrain*) is an attempt to show community of ideas in Hinduism and Islam.

Indu Shekhar, Hasan and Hekmat translated the *Śakuntalā* into Persian.

Dārā Shukoh, translated fifty Upaniṣads into Persian under the title *Sirre-Akbar*. It introduced the Upaniṣads

Influence of Sanskrit on Persian Literature and Thinking.
Ibid : H. L. Chopra, Sanskrit Classics in Persian, Ibid ; M. Mah-joub's detailed study of Kalila and Dimna, Tehran, 1349 A. H.

to the western world. A Duperron, the French scholar, translated it into French and Latin.

Most of the Persian Sufi poets and writers, e. g. Sana'i, Attar, Rumi, Iraqi Hama-dani, Auladi Kirmani, etc. were influenced by Sanskrit. Some of the terms, used in Sufism, with their corresponding Sanskrit equivalents, are given below :

Sufism	Vedānta
Tauhid	Advaita
Zat-e-Mutlaq	Brahma
Alam	Brahma-loka
Ma'rifat	Jñāna
Shu'ur	Buddhi
Khudi	Ahaṁkāra
Nafs	Man
Fikr	Cit

The Wahdat-ul-Wujud of Ibn-e-Arabi corresponds to the pantheistic monism of Śaṅkara's Vedānta. The expressions *Ana-al-Haq* (I am god) and *Laisa fi Jubbati Siwa Allah* (under my cloak there is none but God), current in Sufism, are similar to the Vedāntic idea *aham brhmāsmi* (I am Brahman). The Vedānta speaks of five stages of *mukti*. Rumi, the renowned Sufi poet of Iran, mentions different stages of salvation in his noted work, *Mathnawi*. Like Vedānta Sufism believes that the phenomenal world is an illusion (*Māyā*).

Below we give a list of the Sanskrit classics translated into Persian with the names of the respective translators :

Sanskrit classics	Name of Translator
<i>Amara-carita</i>	Rām Prasād
<i>Bhagavad-gītā</i>	Abul Fazl, Faizi, Dārā Shikoh, Abbas Shustri, Sant Prasad Madhosh

<i>Bhāgāvata-purāṇa</i>	Todar Mall and Lakṣmī Narayan Saroor
<i>Brahmasūtra</i>	<i>Śāṅkara Bhāṣya</i> by Lacchmī Nārāyan
<i>Līlāvati</i>	Faizi
<i>Mahābhārata</i>	Al-Biruni, Abul Fazl, B a d a u n i, Zain-Ul-Abedin
<i>Nala-Damyanī</i>	Faizi
<i>Pañcatantra</i>	I. Shekhar
<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>	Bedil, Badauni, Neh Nārāin, G. Dās, Chandra Man, Mākhan Lāl, Devīdās, Amar Singh, A m a n a t Rai, Anand Ghan, Mohar Singh, S a a d u l l a h Masihi Pānīpati, Misr Rāmdās and others.
<i>Śakuntalā</i>	H. Hasan, Indu Shekhar, Hekmat
<i>Śāṅkara Dīgviyaya</i>	Lakṣmī Nārāyan
<i>Upaniṣads</i>	52 Upaniṣads by Dārā Shikoh
<i>Vedas</i>	<i>Atharvaveda</i> by Mulla Badauni and an extract of the Vedas by Amar Nāth
<i>Vikramorvaṣīya</i>	S. H. A. Abidi
Some other Sanskrit works, translated into Persian, are as follows ¹ :	
<i>Bījagaṇita</i>	<i>Kośa-śāstra</i> (on sexual science)
<i>Brahmavalvarta-purāṇa</i>	<i>Pārijātaka</i> (music)

1. Vide S. M. Fazullah, Persian Translation of Sanskrit Works etc., Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf., Vol. II, pt. 2.

*Bṛhat-saṃhitā**Harivaṃśa**Kāśikhaṇḍa* (included in*Skanda-purāṇa*)*Kathāsarit-sāgara**Prabodha-candrodaya**Purāṇārt̥ha-prakāśa*(chronology and
cosmogony)*Rājataranginī**Śālihotra**Simhāsana-dvātrīṃśikā**Śivapurāṇa**Śuka-saptati**Vāyu-purāṇa**Vedāntasāra**Viṣṇu-purāṇa**Yogavāsiṣṭha*

There is a Persian translation of the *Gītāsāra* by Shaikh
Abu'l Fazl Allami, Prime Minister of Akbar.¹

OCCIDENT

INTRODUCTION

There are some striking parallelisms between a few wise sayings, contained in the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand, and the Old and New Testaments on the other.² They deserve notice. But, the influence of the one on the other cannot be definitely established. These might belong to the floating mass of oral tradition drawn upon both in India and abroad. Or, these might owe their existence to the fact that great men think alike.

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1. See B. D. Verma, Persian Translation of the *Gītāsāra*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. II, pt. 2.
 2. Vide L. Sternbach, Similar Thoughts in the *Mahābhārata*, the Literature of Greater India and in the Christian Gospels, *JAOS* 91. 3.

"You see the faults of others even if they are small as a grain of mustard, but you do not want to see your own faults even if they are as big as the *Bilva* fruit."

This *Mahābhārata* passage (I. 69. 1) has a parallel in St. Mathew, 7. 3 and in the Talmud Arakkin 16.

"Do not do to others what is disagreeable to yourself ; that is *dharma*, the other proceeds from desire."

This *Mahābhārata* saying (V. 39. 57) occurs in St. Mathews, 7. 12 and in the Rabbi Hillel's dictum.

"Whatever one has sown that one reaps."

This maxim, contained in the *Mahābhārata* (12. 287. 44), is found in the Epistle of Paul, the Apostle to the Romans (12. 17) and in the Epistle of Paul, the Apostle to the Galatians. (6. 7).

ITALY

In 600 A. D. the jurists, appointed by Emperor Justinian, were greatly influenced by the *Manu-smṛiti*.¹

BRITAIN

Thorndike discovered a Latin MS. containing astronomical computations. In its calculations Ptolemy's chords are not used. We find in it Hindu methods using sine functions taking $R=150$. It is the value taken in the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* and *Dhyānagrahopadeśa* by Brahmagupta.² Coleridge, Shelley, Byron, Keats, Southey etc. were familiar with Manu's precepts.³

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1. See K. Motwani, Manu and the Modern World, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, vol. II, pt. 2.
 2. See R. N. Rai, Brahmagupta's Works and their influence in and outside India, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. II, Pt. 2.
 3. See K. Motwani, Manu and the Modern World, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. II, Pt. 2.

FRANCE¹

Voltaire looked upon the *Manu-smṛti* as the best book that ever came from the Orient.

We are informed that those who prepared the *Napoleonic Code* used the *Manu-smṛti*.

GERMANY²

Goethe's friend, Schiller, copied the theme of the *Meghadūta* in his *Maria Stuart*. While, in the former, the banished Yakṣa sends the cloud-messenger to his beloved, in the latter, the captive Queen of Scots sends through the cloud a message to the beloved.

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1. See K. Motwani, *Manu and the Modern World*; *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, Vol. II, pt. 2.
 2. See B. H. Kapadia, *Sanskrit and German Language, Literature and Thought*, *Pro. of First Int. Sanskrit Conf.*, II, pt. 1.

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